MONKS AND ARISTOCRATS: CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN THE LOMBARD PRINCIPALITIES OF SOUTHERN ITALY. 774-981.

by

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Abstract

Interest in the history of Latin monasticism in southern Italy has been stimulated in recent years due to the important excavations at the site of the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. These excavations have revealed an immensely opulent monastic complex which has reinforced Angelo Pantoni's famous statement when he referred to the site as a medieval Pompeii.

Despite the importance of the excavations, and the rich historiographical and documentary tradition in southern Italy, many questions remain unanswered concerning the history of monastic development in the Lombard principalities during the ninth and tenth centuries. We still do not know why monasticism was so important in southern Italy or the exact role it played in Lombard society. There is a pressing need to address these questions because much of the historical works which have been produced in association with the excavations at S.Vincenzo have simply sustained long standing assumptions about the influence of the Carolingian and Byzantine Empires and in so doing have obscured the true history of monastic development in southern Italy.

This thesis seeks to demonstrate that it is incongruous to explain the importance of monasticism in the Lombard principalities in terms of Carolingian or Byzantine influences or in comparison with developments

in other regions of Europe. It will be established that the importance of monasticism in Lombard southern Italy had more to do with the immense role it played in southern Lombard society and above all its significance as a mechanism through which the Lombards expressed their ethnic identity.

Part I will establish that the Lombards did indeed possess an exceptionally strong sense of ethnic identity. The genesis of this identity owed much to topographical and historical developments in the seventh century but was strengthened through contacts with external aggressors who threatened Lombard independence.

Part II will explore monastic relations with the Lombard aristocracy and will demonstrate that the monasteries expanded on account of the Lombard princes need to express their ethnic identity.

Part III examines the role of the Papacy and the Cluniac Reform movement and concludes that both had limited influence on monasticism in southern Italy.

Part IV will discuss the important role that monasticism had in ecclesiastical organisation, particularly through the ownership of churches and monk-priests who served monastic churches.

Finally, Part V explores the cultural milieu of monastic activity and will seek to explain the wealth of S.Vincenzo in its regional context.

Abbreviations

AASS	Acta Sanctorum (Brussles, 1643: revised ed., 1843)
AHR	American Historical Review (New York, 1895-)
ANN.BEN	Gli Annales Beneventani, BISI 42 (1923) pp.1-163.
ASPN	Archivo Storico per le Provincie Napoletane (Naples, etc)
BISI	Bullettino dell'istituto storico Italiano (Rome, etc)
CC	Chronica Monasterii Casinensis MGH Scriptores 34 H.Hofmann (ed) (Hannover 1980)
CS	Chronicon Salernitanum A critical edition with studies on Literary and Historical Sources and on Language by Ulla Westerbergh (Stockholm 1956).
CSB	Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis MGH Scrip rer lang pp.467-489.
CSS	Chronicon Beneventani Monasterii S.Sophiae F.Ughelli (ed) Italia Sacra X 2nd ed. (Venise 1722) col.415-560.
CV	Chronicon Vulternense V.Federici (ed) 3 Volumes (Rome 1925, 1925 and 1938 respectively)
CDC	Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis M.Morcaldi, S.de Stephano, M.Schiani (eds) (Naples 1873)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
Erchempert	Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum. MGH S.r.l. pp.231-264.
Gatt.Acc	Ad historiam abbatiae Casinensis accessiones Gattola (Venise, 1734).
Gatt.Hist	Historia abbatiae Casinensis Gattola (Venise 1734)
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
Kehr	P.Kehr (ed) Italia Pontificia (Berlin, 1906-75).

LP	Liber Pontificalis (ed) Duschene (Paris,1886-92)
MANSI	Sacrorum Conciliorum amplissima collectio ed. J.Mansi, new impression and continuation ed. Petit and Martin (Paris, 1899-1927)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Various volumes in the series
MGH S.r.l	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. VI-IX (Hannoverae 1878).
MGH Edict.cet.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Edictus Ceteraeque Langobardorum Leges (Hannoverae 1869)
Migne.PG	J.P.Migne (ed), Patrologia Graeca (Paris 1857-56)
Migne.PL	J.P.Migne (ed), Patrologia Latina (Paris 1841-64)
RB	Revue Bénédictine (Mardesous, 1884-)
RSCI	Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia (Rome, 1947-)
SSCI	Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di sull'alto medioevo. (Spoleto, etc).
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (London, 1871-)
Ughelli	F.Ughelli (ed), Italia Sacra (2nd ed. Venise, 1717-22)

I declare that this is my own work and that no part of it has previously been published in the form in which it is now presented.

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I dedicate this thesis to Heather.

General Introduction

During the ninth century southern Italy was home to two of the largest and most important monasteries in Europe: S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino. Both of these houses owned vast tracks of territory, and numerous churches; they were mother abbeys to many smaller monasteries and convents, and received many and varied gifts from Lombard aristocrats and princes, as well as confirmation charters and donations from both Carolingian and Ottonian emperors. The very size and extent of the possessions of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino respectively can be said to have encouraged monastic involvement in many aspects of worldly affairs including economic and ecclesiastical organisation.

In the 880's both S.Vincenzo and Montecassino were sacked and looted by Saracen warbands. Their monks fled to Capua and Teano respectively and their vast estates began to disintegrate and be taken over by the local aristocracy. Both communities eventually returned to their original monastic sites: S.Vincenzo in 914-916 and Montecassino about 940. Thereafter both abbeys began the process of regaining those possessions which had been lost during the period of monastic exile following their destruction by the Arabs. Although S.Vincenzo and Montecassino did not regain the undoubted magnificence which they held in the ninth century they were still important religious centres in the tenth century.

The history of Montecassino has been thoroughly researched by numerous scholars. In recent years, for example, Cassinese studies have been dominated by the works of Tommaso Leccisotti, Pierre Toubert and Herbert Bloch. The bibliography of S.Vincenzo studies though falling short of the extensive literature for Montecassino has been well served by scholars such as Mario Del Treppo and Angelo Pantoni. Furthermore as regards S.Vincenzo al Volturno the excavations which have been conducted since 1980 on the site of the monastery have stimulated further discussion on that monastery in particular and monasticism in general in southern Italy. The new evidence thrown up by the excavations have also inspired the publication of a number of monographs and articles dealing with the monastery's archaeology, art and history, and which includes contributions by scholars such as Chris Wickham and Richard Hodges.[1]

The smaller monasteries of southern Italy such as S.Sophia of Benevento and S.Clemente di Casauria are less well served by secondary material although this imbalance is slowly being redressed with publications such as the recent study by Laurent Feller which looks in detail at

[1] In particular: R.Hodges and J.Mitchell (eds.) San Vincenzo al Volturno: The Art and Architecture of an Early Medieval Monastery (Oxford 1985). Also: R.Hodges. San Vincenzo al Volturno I. Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 7 (The British School at Rome 1993).

the aristocracy and S.Clemente in the period 960-1035.[1]

All of these secondary works however have failed to address the fundamental question of why monasticism was so important in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy in the ninth and to a lesser extent in the tenth century. This question will be answered in this thesis.

The central hypothesis which will be explored is that there was a deep-rooted and fierce Lombard ethnic identity which was expressed in a number of ways but in particular through Latin monasticism. Beneath the umbrella of this overall hypothesis there are a number of subordinate themes which shall be examined. These are, firstly: that monasticism was an essential supporter of, and crucial component in, the development of Lombard ethnic identity. Secondly it can be demonstrated that it was Lombard ethnic identity, reinforced in the face of external threats which led to the expansion of south Italian monasticism in the late eighth and early ninth century.

Since Lombard ethnic identity is a continuous theme of the thesis a definition of the term must be made at

[1] L.Feller. 'Pouvoir et société dans les Abruzzes autour de l'an mil: aristocratie, incastellamento, appropriation des justices (960-1035), BISI 94 (1988) pp.1-72.

this stage.[1] In his work titled Language, Society and Identity, John Edwards referred to W.Isajiw's analysis of theoretical treatments of the subject of 'ethnicity' in which the latter scholar discovered 27 different definitions of the term.[2] While this clearly indicated the increased level of interest in the subject it also demonstrated a need for a single definition which would have universal acceptance and application. John Edwards therefore attempted to synthesise the recurring features which were to be found in various definitions of the term and offered his own hybrid definition which was as follows:

> 'Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion etc), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of "groupness", or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past".[3]

While this definition will permeate the entire thesis, there are also two other scholars whose works provide the historian with useful parallels and models

[1] Before attempting this it should be stated that the discussion which follows is not an exhaustive bibliographical study of recent works on ethnicity. On the contrary, only those works which contain definitions and models which are useful for testing the hypothesis outlined above will be considered.

[2] J.Edwards. Language,Society and Identity (Oxford 1985) p.6.

[3] Ibid., p.10.

which can be instructively applied to past events, these are, Paul Brass and Anthony Smith.

In Ethnicity and Nationalism Paul Brass developed two main arguments; firstly that ethnicity was not a "given" but was a social and political construction and a creation of elites who distorted and fabricated cultural material "in order to protect their well being or existence or to gain political and economic advantage".[1] Secondly, he argued that ethnicity and nationalism were modern phenomena which were "inseparably connected with the activities of the modern centralising state". Although the phenomenon of nationalism will not be discussed in this thesis some comments must be made in respect of Paul Brass' arguments regarding ethnicity.

In stating and developing his argument regarding the modernity of ethnicity as a social phenomenon Paul Brass set himself in direct odds with the works of Anthony Smith and John Armstrong who have both argued strongly for the existence of ethnic communities throughout history.[2] Also it will be evident that the hypothesis presented in this thesis supports the ideas and arguments developed by Smith and Armstrong and does not concur with Brass's argument that ethnic identity is a modern

[1] P.R.Brass. Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison (London 1991).

[2] A.D.Smith. The Ethnic Origins of Nations (Oxford 1986) and J.A.Armstrong Nations Before Nationalism (University of North Carolina Press 1982)

phenomenon. Indeed the acceptance of 'ethnicity' and ethnic identity as a clearly identifiable sociological factor in early medieval Europe has been highlighted in recent years through the publication of a number of 'ethnic' oriented historical articles.[1]

Brass' first argument regarding the relationship between ethnicity and social elites is flawed by exaggeration. While it is true, and certainly for the medieval period, that the elite group within any particular ethnic community was the major defender and propagator of those cultural elements which collectively represented that group's ethnic identity Brass has created a distorted picture of social interaction by setting up the elite as self-seeking manipulators of cultural material.

Individuals (including each member of an elite sub-group) within a given ethnie[2] received their initial perception of their own identity from their inherited

[1] There is an ever increasing bibliography in this field including: D.Bullough. 'Ethnic History and the Carolingians: An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum', C.Holdsworth and T.P.Wiseman. (eds) The Inheritance of Historiography 350-900 (Exeter 1986) pp.85-105. T.S.Brown. 'Ethnic Independence and Cultural Deference: The attitude of the Lombard Principalities to Byzantium c876-1077' Byzantium and its Neighbours From the mid 9th till the 12th Centuries. Papers Read at the Byzantinological Symposium Bechyne 1990 (Prague 1993) pp.5-12. H.Wolfram. 'Origo et religio. Ethnic traditions and literature in early medieval texts' Early Medieval Europe 3 (1994) pp.1-20.

[2] For convenience in the discussion I will use the French term 'ethnie' to describe an 'ethnic community'.

past. This perception and its particular manifestations could of course develop and change through time, but the initial individual perception of one's identity was a "given" of his specific ethnie.

Secondly, if an elite social stratum developed and propagated a particular group's cultural image this did not automatically mean that their values and perceptions of the particular attributes of their ethnic community differed from those which may have been held by other members of that community who were not members of the elite sub-group. For example the ethnic identity which was inherited and developed by the aristocracy and the monasteries in ninth- and tenth-century southern Italy was a specifically Lombard identity. It was not a purely monastic culture that was developed and propounded, nor was it a glorification of a Lombard aristocratic ethos; it was an individual and socially broader understanding and awareness of being Lombard in its widest sense which included all members of that ethnic community. This does not of course deny that there was a strong and decisive link between the development of ethnic identity and the aristocracy.[1]

Although the arguments developed in this thesis

[1] The ethnogenesis of the Lombards of southern Italy will not be discussed at great length in this thesis. However, certain events which were central to the development of a southern Lombard ethnic self-awareness, such as the Lombard struggles with the Byzantine emperor Constans II in the seventh century, will be referred to.

contradict Paul Brass' two main arguments it will not offer an exhaustive critique of his assertions since that would have little bearing on the overall hypothesis developed herein. Nonetheless, it was necessary to to discuss Brass' two main arguments precisely on account of the fact that his work does provide a number of useful models which can be applied instructively to a study of ethnic identity in the Early Middle Ages. It is also instructive in so far as models developed and employed by Brass to illustrate that ethnicity was a modern phenomenon can also be employed to demonstrate its existence in the ninth and tenth century in southern Italy, and particularly in a monastic context.

Paul Brass argued that there were three basic ways of defining ethnic groups;

1. objective attributes
2. subjective feelings
3. behaviour

Objective attributes he defined as those cultural features which clearly separated one group of people from another - and these he defined as language, territory, religion, colour, diet and dress.

Brass did not offer an expansion on the definition of the subjective feelings on the grounds that he felt it was difficult to answer the basic question of how a group of people arrived at self-conscious awareness in the first place. Nevertheless there is no

doubt that that subjective attributes played a major part in southern Lombard identity since it was clear that there was a very clearly defined Lombard self awareness.

Brass felt that behavioural definitions were a form of objective definition since "they assume that there are specific, concrete ways in which ethnic groups behave or do not behave - in relation to and in interaction with other groups".[1]

Although Paul Brass provides useful models which will be applied and developed in this thesis Anthony Smith offers a more succinct definition of the term ethnicity. At its most basic Smith claimed that "an ethnic group is a type of cultural collectivity, one that emphasises the role of myths of descent and historical memories, and that is recognised by one or more cultural differences like religion, customs, language, or institutions". He also listed what he considered to be the six main attributes of an ethnic community (or ethnie):

1. a collective proper name
2. a myth of common ancestry
3. shared historical memories
4. one or more differentiating elements of common culture
5. an association with a specific homeland
6. a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population

[1] P.Brass. op.cit.,

He further explained that "the more a given population possesses or shares these attributes (and the more of these attributes that it posseses or shares) the more closely does it approximate the ideal type of an ethnic community or "ethnie". As he claimed "where this syndrome of elements is present we are clearly in the presence of an historical culture with a sense of common identity".

One possible area of contention is whether or not southern Italy was made up entirely of a homogeneous Lombard group or whether it was a pluralistic society incorporating small sub groups including elements of a pre-Lombard indigenous population. Due to the lack of relevant source material a conclusive answer to this problem will continue to evade researchers. However, some instructive observations can be made which, when viewed collectively, suggest that the various sub groups which may have been in the south at the end of the sixth century were subsumed by the Lombards as the dominant political group.

For example, all of the current commentators on ethnicity agree that although actual descent and kinship may at some point play a part in the formation of an ethnic identity/community it is not an essential component of any particular ethnic group. This is an aspect which John Edwards examined in his work Language and Identity. Firstly he quoted the conclusions

of Weber who stated that "we shall call 'ethnic groups' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent...it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership...differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity".[1] Edwards then confirmed his support for this statement with his own conclusion that "ethnicity..is seen above all as a matter of belief".

Anthony Smith also covered the same point and stated that "it is myths of common ancestry, not any fact of ancestry that are crucial. It is fictive descent and putative ancestry that matters for the sense of ethnic identity".[2] These observations are of particular relevance to southern Italy since the sources available for the ninth and tenth centuries contain no references to a pre-Lombard indigenous population. There is a good deal of evidence which suggests, however, that southern Italy suffered a sharp decline in population on account of the Ostrogothic wars and the later Lombard invasion. Nonetheless some elements of the pre-Lombard population together with sixth century refugees from the north must have remained in southern Italy. The years between the sixth and ninth centuries, however, the period was one during which elements of an indigenous population and northern refugees were culturally and ethnically subsumed by the Lombards as the dominant political group. In this

[1] J.Edwards. op.cit., p.8.
[2] A.D.Smith. National Identity (London 1991).

sense it would be inappropriate, therefore to describe Lombard southern Italy as a pluralistic society. The significance of these early centuries is that they were of fundamental importance in the formation of a southern Lombard ethnic self-awareness.

This was the most significant period in the genesis of southern Lombard ethnic identity. Three of the most significant factors in this process were the wars against Constans II, the Lombard conversion to catholicism, and a gradual development of associations with the geographical boundaries of the Duchy of Benevento. All of these elements; catholicism, wars against external aggressors and the development of an idea of a 'homeland' were shared experiences among genetic Lombards and indigenous population alike. Two of Smith's ethnic attributes, shared historical memories, and association with a specific homeland were common experiences for the entire population of the young Duchy of Benevento. By 774, therefore, any of the pre-Lombard people in southern Italy had had almost 200 years of shared experiences with the Lombards during a period when the Lombards themselves were undergoing the process of ethnogenesis.

There are five main areas of activity which shall be examined in this thesis in order to test the hypothesis outlined above, these are:

The geo-political background. Paul Brass declared that "ethnic self consciousness, ethnically based demands,

and ethnic conflict can only occur if there is some conflict either between indigenous and external elites and authorities or between indigenous elites". More precisely one of the main sources of ethnic conflict noted by Brass was that "between a local aristocracy attempting to maintain its privileges against an alien conqueror". A study of Lombard political activity - outwith monastic activity - will demonstrate that the Lombards of southern Italy fullfilled all of Paul Brass' ethnic criteria including objective attributes, subjective feelings and behaviour and that they held all six of Smith's ethnic community attributes. Collectively these indicate quite clearly that there was a strong Lombard ethnic identity.

Monastic relations with the aristocracy. This section of the thesis serves a number of purposes which relate to the wider aspects of Lombard ethnic identity - for example that Latin monasticism must be seen above all in the context of its political, social, economic and geographical location. This section, together with Part V of this thesis are to a large extent a response to an article titled "San Vincenzo al Volturno, The Kingdom of Benevento and the Carolingians" by Richard Hodges, John Moreland and Helen Patterson which was published in 1985. The tone of the entire paper and in particular a sub-section called "The Carolingian Connection - S.Vincenzo's raison d'etre" sought to explain the late eighth and early ninth century expansion

of the monastic complex at S.Vincenzo in terms of the level of support the monastery received from the Carolingians. This is an argument which continues to be advanced by archaeologists and art historians alike.[1]

The premise of this thesis is that, contrary to these arguments the cultural, economic and political impulses which lay behind the expansion of S.Vincenzo were locally based and above all intimately related to Lombard aristocratic patronage. Indeed the rise of the monasteries in the early ninth century, their decline from the 850's onwards, their relative stability in the tenth century when they sought to regain lost possessions was largely determined by their relations with the Lombard aristocracy. Indeed the 'raison d'être' of S.Vincenzo was its cultural significance as a vital part of a Lombard ethnic identity and had less to do with the Carolingians.

This section will demonstrate that there was a clear and quantifiable link between aristocratic patronage and the assertion of Lombard ethnic identity. In short, the whole issue of patronage was intricately related to

[1] R.Hodges, J.Moreland and H.Patterson. 'San Vincenzo al Volturno, the Kingdom of Benevento and the Carolingians', Papers in Italian Archaeology IV. The Cambridge Conference. Part IV. Classical and Medieval Archaeology. ed. by C.Malone and S.Stoddart. (Oxford 1985). J.Mitchell. 'Literacy displayed: the use of inscriptions at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the early ninth century', The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe R.McKitterick (ed.) (Cambridge 1990) pp.186-225.

'identity' and the need of a particular social group to express its own cultural distinctiveness.

This section will also explore points of contact between the two groups: abbots/monks and aristocracy. It was at these points of contact and interaction that attitudes and cultural outlooks and understandings were expressed and shared. For example some of the areas covered will include the social origins of monks and abbots, monks and abbots as court functionaries, aristocrats as monastic advocates and shared political goals.

The monastic role in ecclesiastical organisation. This section serves a dual purpose - firstly it will demonstrate the extent to which monasteries controlled and influenced the religious life of the entire Lombard community - particularly through the ownership of churches, the provision of monks to serve as bishops in local dioceses, and by ordaining monks to serve in monastic churches. In this way monastic attitudes, mores and cultural outlook were disseminated throughout different sectors and levels within the church and society generally. The full significance of this lies in the fact that the overwhelming monastic cultural ethos was based on and a part of Lombard ethnic identity. Thus the cultural and ethnic outlook which the monk-bishops and monk-priests propagated and encouraged within their particular niche within society was distinctly southern

Lombard.

This section will also demonstrate that the particular administrative structures of southern Lombard ecclesiastical/monastic organisation were of sufficient antiquity by the ninth and tenth centuries for them to be considered as Lombard traditions. In this way significant elements relating to monastic involvement in ecclesiastical organisation in the south, including the right to own churches, were considered the norm and can in the religious sphere be considered an objective ethnic attribute.

Relations with the papacy and the ninth and tenth century reform movements. This section forms an instructive comparative study with the section on political relations with external forces. It will comprise of an assessment of monastic relations with the two most potent external religious forces of the ninth and tenth centuries; one institutional, the papacy, the other ideological, the reform movements. It will be demonstrated that the monastic response to these two external forces was similar in nature to that expressed in the political sphere by the southern Lombards. These were responses motivated by the same criterion; the feeling of belonging to a clearly defined Lombard ethnic community, which had its own political, ecclesiastical and monastic traditions which local abbots would defend in face of papal claims and reforming ideas.

Lombard cultural identity expressed in the monastic context. This section will explore a number of specifically cultural topics which emanated from and were intimately associated with Latin monasticism and which can be said to demonstrate dramatically a very strong and dynamic Lombard cultural identity. These specific cultural areas relate to objective, subjective and behavioural attributes. These are; the apparent awareness of "them" and "us" found in monastic sources and the significance of the southern Lombard laws to the development of an ethnic identity. The unique southern monastic attitude and contribution to the visual arts and the way in which this indicated the presence of a vibrant ethnic culture will also be examined. Above all a significant portion of this section will be devoted to an assessment of the culture and ethnic significance of the two great monastic histories of the southern Lombards: Erchempert's Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum, and the anonymous Chronicon Salernitanum.

The central theme of this thesis also dictates its chronological boundaries. Lombard ethnic identity was given its greatest single political boost in 774 when the then duke, Arichis II assumed the royal title princeps gentis Langobardorum and made donations to the monastery of S.Sophia, pro salvatione gentis nostrae et patriae. The feelings which these notarial phrases articulated remained the corner stone of Lombard ethnic political identity throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. At the

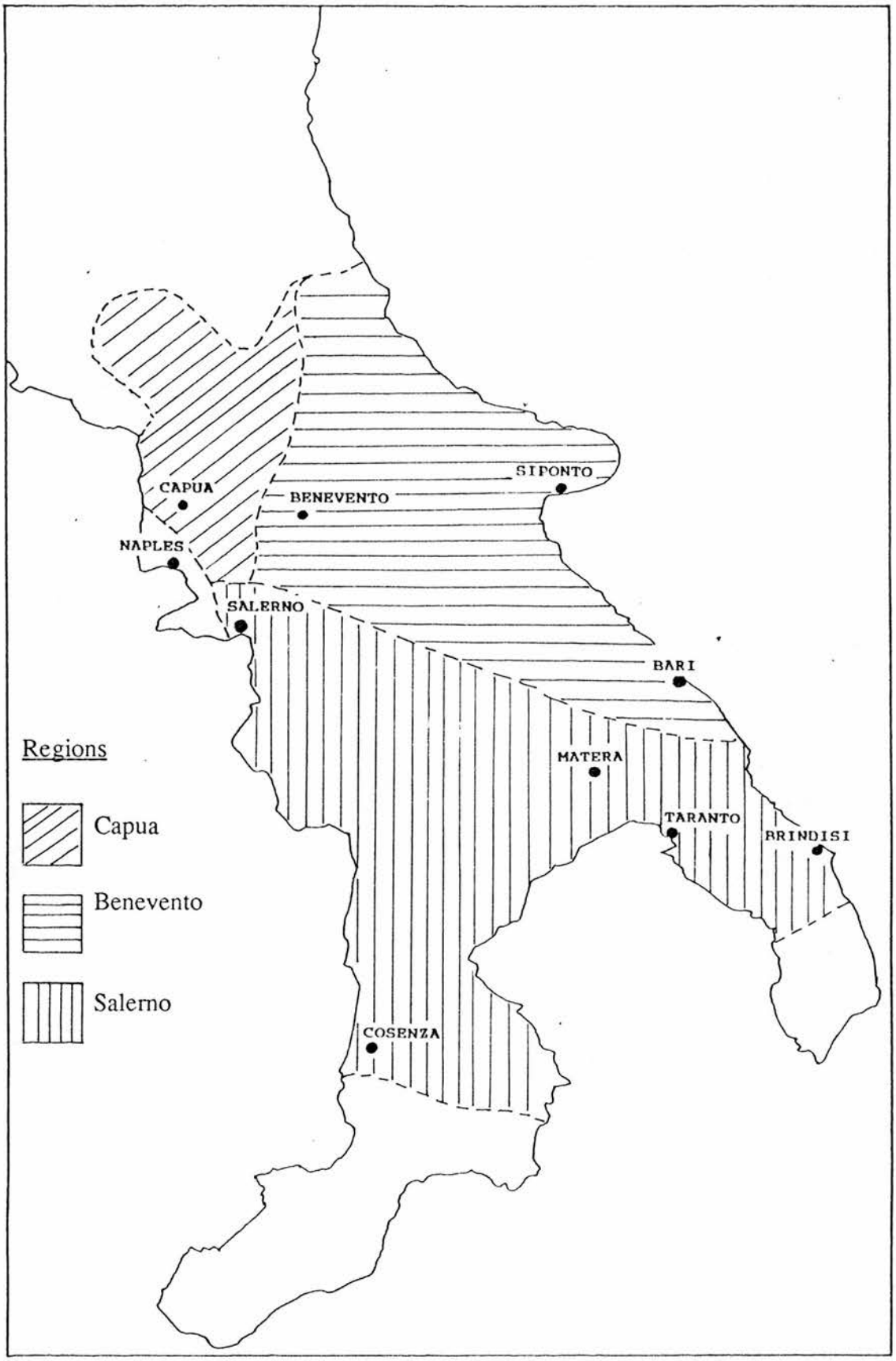
end of the chronological limits of the thesis there is the figure of Prince Pandolf I 'Ironhead' who was the most powerful Lombard ruler since Arichis, and whose very authority was founded on his position as prince of the Lombards. Pandolf's power base, however, collapsed with his death. For example, after 981 the territory of Molise was out of princely control and there were revolts at Salerno and Benevento. The power structure of Capua-Benevento had collapsed by the 990's. These changes were not confined to the political history of the south; episcopal sees became smaller and the bishops themselves became somewhat shadowy figures on the political and ecclesiastical scene. The death of Pandolf ushered in a age of new and exceptionally complex and obscure developments in southern Lombard society. The years between 774 and Prince Pandolf's death in 981, therefore, form a coherent period of study in southern Lombard history. It was also a period which was crucial in the development of monastic history and in particular its relationship to, and role in developing and creating a Lombard ethnic identity and culture.

PART I

A. Introduction

In studying the history of southern Italy during the ninth and tenth centuries one is faced by complex political developments and social upheavals. In 774 a Lombard principality was created and based on the duchy of Benevento, when the then duke, Arichis II assumed the title of 'prince' after the fall of Desiderius in the north and Charlemagne's triumphant entry into Pavia in that year. During the following two centuries the political control of the southern Lombard territory was contested among external and local powers, including the western empire, Byzantium, the Papacy, the Lombards and the autonomous towns of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta. The situation was further complicated by an increase in Arab involvement in the south, and the incessant internecine Lombard struggles. The tensions which existed in southern Lombard society exploded with the bloody civil war of 839-849/50 which led to a division of the principality between the two warring factions based on Benevento and Salerno respectively. At the same time the gastald Landolf I of Capua attempted to establish his own independence, although ostensibly giving his support to Siconulf and the Salernitan faction. (See Fig.I. Political Divisions in Southern Italy after 849/50 Page 20)

The overall effect of these internal tensions and the predilection towards small autonomous power



Lombard Political Divisions After 850

Map I

structures was a continual change in the balance of power between the different Lombard regions. Eventually Capua and Benevento were reunited in 900 under the leadership of Atenolf I of Capua, who had gained control of Benevento after a period of Byzantine, Spoletan and independent rule in the city. The apogee of this period in the history of Capua/Benevento was the rule of Pandolf I 'Ironhead'(943-981). As indicated above, however, the stability which was attained under Pandolf was transitory and following his death the principality split once again into a series of warring gastaldates.

The various expeditions of foreign powers in the south, and the political shifts within Lombard society itself does indeed present the historian with a complex series of events involving many different protagonists. The difficulties of studying such a period are evident from the relative lack of major secondary works concerning the south. The earliest work which attempted to cover the whole history of Southern Italy from 867-1071 was published by Jules Gay in 1904. The broad narrative approach followed by Gay, however, is rather disappointing since it tends to beg many more questions than are answered.[1] There is only one other book which focuses on the history of the Lombard principalities in the ninth and tenth centuries in their entirety and that

[1] J.Gay, L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin depuis L'avenement de Basil Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands, (867-1071) (Paris 1904).

is Barbara Kreutz's recent publication, Before the Normans.[1] However, this work is rather disjointed and lacks clear focus; Benevento for example is hardly touched upon, while there is a heavy bias on the history of Salerno.[2]

The history of southern Italy however does lend itself to the production of major works which are of primarily local significance. For example, Nicola Cilento has produced two thorough studies of the principality and the ruling family of Capua, in 1966 and 1971 respectively.[3] The town of Salerno has also been the main subject of works by noted historians; from the publication of Michael Schipa's important article in 1887 through Paolo Delogu's innovative study of Salerno which was published in 1977. More recently the principality of Salerno has been the subject of an impressive two-volume study by Huguette Taviani-Carozzi.[4]

Many historians have adopted a stricter thematic or subject approach to southern Italy, for example early in

[1] B.Kreutz. Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries (Pennsylvania 1991).

[2] See review in Early Medieval Europe 2 Number 1 (1993) pp.86-87.

[3] N.Cilento. Le origini della signoria capuana nella longobardia minore (Rome 1966); and, Italia meridionale longobarda (Milan/Napoli 1971).

[4] M.Schipa. 'Storia de principato longobardo di salerno' A.S.P.N. 1887 Volume 12 pp.79-137. P.Delogu. Mito di una città meridionale: salerno, secoli VIII-XI (Napoli 1977). H.Taviani-Carozzi La Principauté Lombarde de Salerne IXe-XIe Siècle (Rome 1991).

this century René Poupardin looked at the Lombard political and administrative institutions, and produced a detailed analysis of the diplomas of the various Lombard princes together with a short narrative history of political developments in Lombard southern Italy.[1]

More recently there has been an increased interest in the history of southern Italy, particularly evident through the works of Jean-Marie Martin, Paolo Delogu and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi.[2] The economic and social process known as incastellamento has been thoroughly

[1] R.Poupardin. 'Étude sur la diplomatique des princes Lombards de Bénévent, de Capoue et de Salerne' Melanges d'Archeologie et d'Histoire Ecole Francaise de Rome 1901 21 pp.115-180. also, Les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes (Paris 1907).

[2] For example. J-M.Martin. 'A propos de la vita de Barbatus évéque de Bénévent' Mélanges de l'école Française de Rome 86 1977 pp.137-164. 'L'incastellamento: mutation de l'habitat dans l'Italie du X• siècle' Occident et Orient Au Xe Siècle Actes Du IXe Congrès De La Société Des Historiens 1977. 'Economia naturale ed economia monetaria nell 'Italia meridionale longobarda e bizantina (secoli VI-XI) Storia d'Italia. Annali 6: Economia naturale, economia monetaria (Torino 1983) pp.181-219. 'Modalités de l'"incastellamento" et typologie castrale en Italie méridionale (X•-XII• siécles)' Castelli. Storia e archeologia, a cura di Rinaldo Comba e Aldo Settia (Torino 1984) pp.89-104. P.Delogu. 'Patroni, Donatori, Commitenti nell'Italia Meridionale Longobarda' SSCI 39 (spoleto 1992) pp.303-339. H.Taviani-Carozzi. 'Église privée, église du règne (l'exemple de Saint-Maxime di Salerne) Sociabilité, pouvoirs et société. Actes colloque de Rouen Nov.1983 a cura di F.Thélamon (Publication du l'Université de Rouen 110, 1987) pp.235-247.

studied by Pierre Toubert and Chris Wickham.[1] At the same time the influence and role of the Eastern Empire in south Italy has been studied by Vera von Falkenhausen and André Guillou who have both studied the Greek communities in Apulia and Calabria.[2]

B. Sources

The sources concerning the history of southern Italy during the ninth and tenth centuries are abundant, and range from major chronicles through documents, peace treaties, saints' lives and papal letters. However this abundance is also quite misleading since there are significant difficulties in accessing the actual material. Only four of the chronicles have been edited recently and the bulk of the other published works remain scattered throughout various eighteenth and nineteenth century collections. The majority of these are either poorly edited or lack any critical editorial comment whatsoever. The major chronicles readily available in such collections are as follows:

[1] C.Wickham 'Lincastellamento ed i suoi destini undici anni dopo il Latium di P.Toubert' Structures de l'Habitat et Occupation du sol dans les pays méditerranéen les méthodes et l'apport de l'archéologie Extensive G.Noyé (ed) (Rome/Madrid 1988) C.Wickham. Il problema dell'incastellamento in Italia centrale: l'esempio di San Vincenzo al Volturno (Florence 1985).

[2] V.von Falkenhausen. Untersuchungen uber die byzantinische Herrschaft in Suditalien vom 9,bis in 11 Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden 1967). A.Guillou. Studies on Byzantine Italy (London 1970) and Cuture et Société en Italie Byzantine (VIe-XIe s.) (London 1978).

Erchempert: Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum

Erchempert's narrative history covers the period 774 - 889 and is the first historical narrative to focus entirely on the Lombards of southern Italy. Erchempert himself called his work a Historia and compared it to Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum. While the author conceived of his Historia as a continuation of Paul the Deacon's work the history of the Lombards of northern Italy had ceased to have any meaning, and played no role in the development of his narrative. Although the Historia offers little insight into the nature of the author himself we do know that he was a Lombard, a monk of the Cassinese community and that he was writing during the 890's. Erchempert is, therefore, particularly well informed about the events of the second half of the ninth century.[1]

Chronicon Salernitanum

Covers the period 774-974. The author drew heavily on earlier sources for early part of Chronicon, in particular Paul the Deacon and Erchempert's Historia. The author was clearly a monk and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi has recently made a good case for suggesting that the author was Abbot Radoald (986-990) of the monastery of

[1] Erchempert. Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum. MGH Scrip. rer. lang. (Hannover 1878) pp.231-264. U.Balzani Early Chroniclers of Europe: Italy (London 1883) p.116. H.Taviani-Carozzi La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IXe-XIe siècle) (École Française de Rome 1991) pp.37-62. P.Meyvaert 'Erchempert, moine du Mont-Cassin' RB 69 (1959) pp.101-105.

S.Benedict in Salerno. Although the author's narrative is rather colourful it is our only detailed chronicle source for the tenth century.[1]

Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis

A short chronicle written by a monk of Montecassino in the 880's. For the early history of the monastery the author draws heavily on the works of Paul the Deacon. More detailed for events of the mid-ninth century.[2]

Chronicon Sancta Sophiae

The chronicle of the monastery of S.Sophia in Benevento. Compiled in the twelfth century by one of the monks of the congregation it is more of a cartulary than a chronicle. Rich in documents relating to the patrimony of the monastery between the eighth and twelfth centuries.[3]

Chronicon Vulternense

Written by John the Monk of S.Vincenzo, who had been exhorted to the work by his abbot, Gerardus, in the early twelfth century (c.1118/19). Combines a historical narrative with the monastic cartulary. The narrative starts with the history of the monastery by Autpert and

[1] Chronicon Salernitanum A critical edition with studies on literary and historical sources and on language. U.Westerbergh (Stockholm 1956). H.Taviani-Carozzi op.cit., pp.62-95.

[2] MGH S.r.l. pp.467-489. U.Balzani op.cit.,p.111.

[3] Chronicon Beneventanii Monasterii S.Sophiae ed.F.Ughelli Italia Sacra X (Venise 1722) col.415-560. O.Bertolini 'I documenti trascritti nel "Liber Preceptorum Beneventani Monasterii S.Sophiae" Studi di storia napoletana in onore di Michelangelo Schipa (Napoli 1926) pp.11-47.

continues up to 1075. Rich in charters of donation and leases.[1]

Chronica Monasterii Casinensis

Major chronicle compiled in the late eleventh century by the Cassinese monk, Leo Marsicanus. Uses earlier works, including; Paul the Deacon, Erchempert and the Chronicon Salernitanum. Records a great many transactions relating to the patrimony of Montecassino.[2]

Chronica Capuana

A very short narrative chronicle which concentrates on the history of the ruling house of Capua in the ninth and tenth centuries. The 'chronicle' is in fact a collection a fragments written at different times and by different authors.[3]

Although this provides one with a rich selection of narrative sources the material must be treated with a good deal of caution. This is certainly true in the case of Erchempert who wrote his history in Capua about the year 890 as a continuation of Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum.[4] In this work the author displays a

[1] Chronicon Vulternense (3 vols) V.Federcici FSI 58, 59 and 60 (Rome 1925 and 1930). U.Balzani op.cit., p.159.

[2] MGH Sriptores XXXIV (Hannover 1980).

[3] N.Cilento. 'La cronaca dei conti e dei principi Longobardi di Capua dei codici Cassinese 175 e Cavense 4 (815-1000)' BISI 69 1957 pp.1-65. This article was reprinted in N.Cilento. Italia Meridionale Longobarda (Milan-Naples 1966) pp.103-174.

[4] The date of Erchempert's Historia Langobardorum is a matter of debate.

vehement dislike for Prince Sico and his son Sicard, a factor conditioned by the unrest under these two leaders which led eventually to the civil war of 839-849/50.[1] Erchempert was particularly scathing towards these two rulers since the struggle which they initiated and sustained not only gave rise to a decade of internal strife, but also led to the employment of Arab mercenaries by both factions and their establishment in Lombard towns.

The Chronicon Vulternense written by John the Monk in the twelfth century, must also be treated with caution, since the author's overall theme was that of looking back to a "golden age" in the history of the monastery. By John's time the monastery was indeed less than a shadow of what it once had been, but S.Vincenzo's fortunes were in decline before the Arab raid of 881. This has been highlighted by way of the recent excavations carried out at the site under the auspices of the British School at Rome and the Soprintendenza Archelogica del Molise (Campobasso).[2] The chronicle, however, is particularly useful as it is rich in donation charters from the Lombard princes and aristocracy.

Outwith the sphere of the chronicles, further source

[1] Erchempert 8-13 pp.237-240.
[2] R.Hodges. 'Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno: a regional and international centre from A.D.400-1100' San Vincenzo al Volturno. The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery Edited by R. Hodges and J.Mitchell (Oxford 1985) pp.1-35.

material is widely dispersed. The Lombard material held in the monastery of La Cava was published in the nineteenth century in eight volumes.[1] The important papal letters (especially the abundant collections of John VIII) the poetry, and partition treaties, such as that drawn up between Benevento and Salerno in 849/50 are to be found in various volumes in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica series.[2]

C. Geography and Economic Development

Throughout the entire period under discussion it becomes increasingly clear that a local perspective on the part of both Lombard and non-Lombard communities in the south played a major role in determining their economic and political development. This tendency towards localisation was conditioned, to a large extent, by the particular geographical nature of Southern Italy. The whole region was relatively, though significantly, remote from the kingdom of Italy and the papal states in the north. It lay to the south of the great topographical barrier of the Abruzzi mountains in the east, while in the west the large malarial swamps of the Pontine marshes effectively hindered any direct contact overland between Rome and the Campanian coastal towns of Naples, Gaeta and Amalfi. The degree to which the topography of southern

[1] Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis ed. M.Morcaldi, S.de Stephano, M.Schiani (Naples 1873).

[2] For the letters of Pope John VIII see, MGH Epp VII. Poetry: MGH Poetae latini. Treaties, MGH LL IV.

Italy fostered regional differences and encouraged antagonisms between the north and south, has long been a recognised factor in Italian history. Tim Potter in his book on Roman Italy, for example, highlighted the role of topography as one of the main causes in the Samnite wars with Rome between 343 and 290 B.C.[1]

These latter towns themselves were well served by their geographical positions; not only did their coastal siting provide them with the opportunity to exploit the economics of trade, by building up their independent merchant fleets, but also offered some measure of protection against the repeated attacks of the Lombards through certain features of the landscape: Amalfi by her high mountainous hinterland, and Naples by the volcanic Phlegrean Fields, although she was more exposed in the Terra di Lavoro area which was always debatable land. As for the Lombard principality itself, it suffered from the lack of rich flat land, with more than half the area of Southern Italy consisting of high mountainous regions. Indeed throughout the extant donation charters one can see that among the gifts presented to the monasteries a

[1] T.W.Potter. Roman Italy (Frome, Somerset 1987) The Samnite's homeland was the central and southern Appenines. At the same time they controlled large parts of Campania and Lucania. The geographical limits of their rule corresponded roughly to that of the later duchy and pricipality of Benevento. It is also of note that the Samnite political structure "developed into comparatively small territorial units" which foreshadowed the disintegration and divisiveness of the southern Lombard political state.

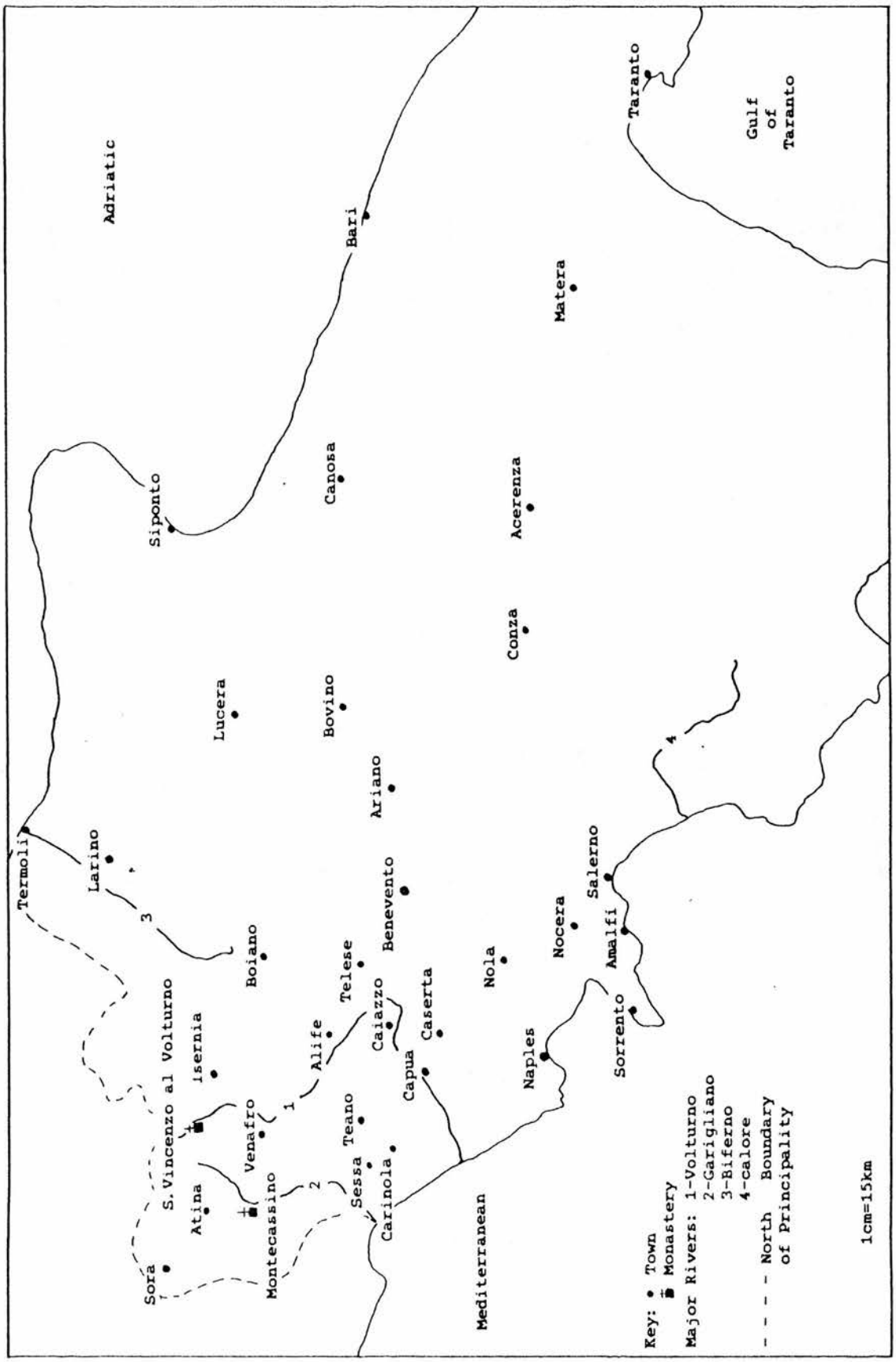
significant number of them contained detailed references to woods and mountains, lands which were presumably of little value to the original owners, who were, along with the princes, more interested in the richer lands of Campania, Liburia and the Apulian Plain.[1]

It was, in short, the desire for the control of such lands which was one of the main causal factors in the almost incessant political strife of the ninth and tenth centuries. Chris Wickham succinctly assessed the situation when he wrote "too many powers contested too little territory",[2] and this situation was not only confined to socially different groups but also involved divisions among the Lombard peoples themselves, focusing on the three major towns of Benevento, Capua and Salerno. Each one of these towns had their respective high point in the political history of southern Italy. This overall tendency towards localisation was reinforced by the lack of lines of communication in the region, which was served by a small number of major land routes, such as the Via Latina which linked Capua with Rome, and the Caudine Valley which provided access from Benevento to the Capuan Plain. The topographical obstacles to a stable political unity are thus clear, as the Lombards who were remote from the powerful states in the north found that the high mountain valleys and rugged terrain of the south

[1] CV I Doc.30 p.243, and Doc. 34 p.249.
[2] C.Wickham. Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400-1000 (2nd edition. London 1989). p.156.

fostered a similar attitude within their own domains, with each major town looking to its own economic prosperity, and to its own local aristocracy for leadership.

The contrast one finds between the different regions in the south was also reflected in the development and prosperity of urban centres. Towns which could exploit the trade opportunities offered by their proximity to the Mediterranean, such as Naples, Amalfi and Salerno;(see Map II for the location of the main towns mentioned in the text. Page 33) and those which were well placed in rich lands, like Capua (the centre of Liburia) expanded in direct contrast to the towns of the interior, most notably Benevento, which was also to suffer through the loss of southern lands to the Byzantines during the ninth century. Many of the older towns had been founded on Roman sites, including Naples, Benevento and Teano, but during the ninth century new centres rose rapidly, and became involved in the complex set of trade patterns which gradually emerged among the Arabs, Byzantium and the northern Italian markets. Although Benevento had been enlarged in the late eighth century by Prince Arichis II as the capital of his new principality, its main function was as an administrative centre rather than as a trade centre. In fact it was the coastal cities of Campania which were to dominate the domestic and international market in the south, the bulk of oriental goods which



Towns of Lombard South Italy

Map II

were to be found at Benevento would undoubtedly have been transported via southern ports such as Naples and later Amalfi and Salerno.

The latter town grew steadily from the time of Arichis II's rebuilding programme of the town. Chris Wickham's argument, however, that the growth experienced by Salerno in the ninth and tenth century was due solely to its political importance is a rather sweeping statement.[1] Paolo Delogu, for example, in his study on Salerno has highlighted the fact that the town had an important trading role which was surprising in that the town was not nominally Byzantine and yet it shared in trade with the eastern empire. Benevento, on the other hand, had always lacked a fleet with which to combat the Neapolitans and enter into sea trade, and Arichis II had through his actions implicitly recognised Salerno's potential strategic importance in that area of activity. Furthermore, it is clear that by 839 Salerno was in a strong enough position to rupture all associations with Benevento, engage in civil war with the central authority and in 849/50 establish itself as a principality under the rule of Siconulf. The partition treaty of 849/50 was favourable to the Salernitan faction, and gave them control of the richest areas of the principality of Benevento, from Sora and Teano in the north to Cosenza in

[1] C.Wickham. op.cit., p.149.

Calabria.[1] From then on Salerno's involvement in the commercial world grew rapidly, expanding dramatically in the tenth century. In this period the merchants who were based in Salerno were mentioned alongside those of Amalfi and Gaeta in the commercial regulations of the Lombard kingdom. The Honoratiae Civitatis Papiae states that,

> ...the men of Salerno, Gaeta and Amalfi were accustomed to come to Pavia with a great deal of merchandise and they gave to the treasury in the royal palace one fortieth of a solidus and to the wife of the treasurer, just like the Venetians, individually, spices and cosmetics.[2]

It is evident, therefore, that Salerno's rise to prominence cannot be seen wholly within a strict political orbit since the power exercised by the town's aristocracy was undoubtedly directly connected to its role in the major coastal trade network.

One town which also exploited such trade opportunities to the full was Amalfi, situated only a few miles to the west of Salerno and on a commanding maritime site. Ethnically a non-Lombard town, and owing nominal allegiance to the Byzantine empire, Amalfi was to prosper dramatically after breaking free from Neapolitan domination in the 840's. Before this, however, the importance of Amalfi's fleet had been recognised by the

[1] For the treaty of 849 and the details of the division see MGH Edict.cet. pp.221-225.

[2] Commercial Regulations of the Lombard Kingdom in the Tenth Century. MGH Scriptores XXX part 2 pp.1451-1452.

Lombards themselves. Prince Sicard had employed Amalfitan ships to rescue the relics of S.Bartholomew from the Lipari Islands and transport them to Salerno.[1] Amalfitan ships were also used in the rescue of Siconolf from Taranto.[2] It was the particular position of Amalfi, well placed to entertain commercial contacts with the Arabs, and at the same time possessing trade privileges with the Byzantine Empire, that enabled it to expand on similar lines as Venice in the north. Indeed as Citarella has pointed out, both of these towns "made capital of their allegiance to Byzantium and exploited to the fullest their position as middle men between east and west."[3] To a lesser extent the same was also true of Gaeta. It is clear that commerce was at the very heart of Amalfitan life as the town consistently avoided offending or endangering their links with the Arabs, in particular, in 915 under Mastalo I they refused to take part in the expedition against the Arabs on the Garigliano. In this we can see the provincial attitude in action since Amalfi was more concerned with maintaining her own economic position, rather than following the general anti-Arab line espoused by the western empire and the papacy.

[1] Nicetaes Paphlagonis. In laudem Sancti Bartholomaei Migne. PG 105 col.217.

[2] M.Schipa. 'Storia de principato longobardo di salerno' ASPN 12 (1887) pp.79-137.

[3] A.O.Citarella. 'The Relations of Amalfi with the Arab World before the Crusades' Speculum 42 (1967) pp.299-312.

These western coastal towns (including Naples) served as both major markets for international trade and also, contrary to what Chris Wickham believes[1] supplied the interior with oriental goods. In particular one thinks here of the precious gifts which Arichis II donated to the convent of S.Sophia in Benevento, including goods from Asia Minor such as purple cloth and gold vessels with intricate oriental engraving.[2] In fact the sale of ceremonial clothes and other eastern products in southern Italy was to become an Amalfitan monopoly.[3] Moreover at Pavia southern merchants supplied horses, linen cloth, tin, swords and slaves.[4] Indeed the last article mentioned here was the chief commodity handled by the coastal towns, a fact which is impressively borne out by the source material.[5] For example, in the peace treaty between Sicard of Benevento and Naples in 836 we find that the Neapolitans were expressly forbidden to purchase Lombard slaves.[6] Furthermore, in an Arab source

[1] C.Wickham. op.cit., pp.150-151.

[2] J.Gay. L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin Depuis L'avènement de Basil Ier Jusqu'a la prise de Bari par les Normands (876-1071) (Paris 1904) p.46. Although the Lombards were, as Gay points out, the customers of the Neapolitans, it is likely that some of the luxury items found at Benevento may have been acquired as diplomatic gifts.

[3] A.O.Citarella. op.cit., p.301.

[4] MGH Script XXX part 2 pp.1451-1454.

[5] For example see. Erchempert 39, 49 and 51. For a fuller discusiion on this trade see, J.Gay. op. cit., p.118. and G.Galasso. 'Le città campane nell'alto medioevo' ASPN 78 (1960).

[6] MGH IV Legum (ed. Pertz) 1868 pp.216-221.

dealing with the ninth century we find the following:

> On the western sea, Slavic, Roman, Frankish and Lombard slaves are exported, as well as, Roman and Spanish girls, beaver pelts and other furs. [1]

The main outlets for such slaves, captured during the endemic struggles of the period, were to be found in north Africa and Egypt, especially after the Fatimid conquest. During the ninth and early tenth century the western seaboard of Southern Italy together with Venice, were undoubtedly the most active markets for the supply of slaves in the Mediterranean. During the tenth century, however, a distinct change set in to this trade; a change not only conditioned by a growing decline in the sources of supply, but also by a change in attitude towards the trade itself. This latter fact is highlighted in a Venetian decree of 960, in which the selling of slaves was prohibited, and the owning of slaves seen as a sin, and a "most serious evil."[2] Nevertheless, by the latter half of the tenth century the commercial towns of Southern Italy had already profited greatly by supplying slaves, and were firmly established as the major trading centres for all wares.

1 Ibn Khordadhbeh (Abu al-Qasim 'Ubayd Allah ibn Kurrudadhbeh), Le livre des routes et des royaumes. Trans, into French by J.de Goeje. In Bibliotheca Geographicorum Arabicorum (Lyons 1889) p.66.

2 G.L.F.Tafel and G.M.Thomas. Urkunden zur alteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehungauf Byzanz und die Levante von 9ten bis zum Ausgang des 15ten Jahrh. (Vienna, 1856) I, pp.17-25. The decree is dated, June 960 by Ursus Bonus.

Unlike the coastal cities, which were served by comparatively large fleets, the internal economic structure was based on the possession of land and the production of grain and wine, in both mountainous regions, and in the richer lands of the river valleys, such as that of the Volturno. Agricultural land was farmed either by tenants, who paid rent in money or kind, or by condumae (slave families) who could be sold along with the land on which they worked. With regards to the latter group Chris Wickham has painted a somewhat deceptive view of their position by stating that it was common practice to alienate not land but condumae, thereby creating the illusion that slave families were seen as inseparable from the land which they farmed.[1] On the contrary the situation was much more open and fluid than this would suggest: condumae could be alienated with land, but conversely they could be retained by the original owner, while the land itself was either sold or donated to a monastery. For example, in 807 Adelferus and Madelferus gifted to the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno their territories in Venafro, with the servants who were situated there,[2] while, on the other hand, Vuaco of Capua, in a gift to the same monastery, gave lands but with the proviso that this was excluding the male and female slaves.[3]

[1] C.Wickham. op.cit.,
[2] CV I pp.273-274.
[3] Ibid., p.257.

Landed property itself, whether owned by an individual family or by a monastic institution could be widely dispersed. S.Vincenzo for example, apart from its vast central block of territory of some 500 square kilometers (gifted by Gisolf I and later by Arichis II in 760) owned land as far afield as Venafro, Lucera, Canosa and Acerenza.[1] While in the early ninth century the gastald Maio owned the hamlets on Montemarrano and Caiazzo, which were over 60 kilometres apart, with Benevento and numerous private lands lying between them.[2] Such a wide dispersal of property undoubtedly hindered the efficient exploitation of land, which was in any case often mountainous and forested.

Throughout the extant documentation there is evidence of production of wine. In 807 one Romanus donated a vineyard near Telesino to S.Vincenzo.[3] We also know that when Athanasius of Naples attacked Capua in 884 all the citizens were out picking the grape harvest.[4] Unfortunately however, while André Guillou in an article on the production of wine in the Byzantine provinces of southern Italy in the eleventh century labelled such

[1] CV I. For the respective donations see:
Venafro, p.249. Lucera, p.267. Canosa, pp.279-280.
Acarenza, pp.292-293.

[2] Ibid., pp.257-259.
[3] Ibid., p.257.
[4] Erchempert c.56 p.257.

activity as highly profitable,[1] the exact extent of the profits to be made from wine production in the Lombard principalities during the ninth and tenth centuries has yet to be fully explored.

Outwith the monastic establishments land was not generally managed on a large scale, and private territory could be dispersed and consist of very small units indeed. Such was the case of one Maio, son of Agemondus, who sometime before 812, owned (among his other possessions) two fishermen by the names of Altinus and Palombus at Siponto, along with their nets which they used solely to catch cuttlefish.[2]

The overall picture therefore is that of a complex geography, which directly affected the economic development of the various regions of Southern Italy. The coastal towns prospered due to their ease of access to international trade, while the towns of the interior wrestled with the problems of a difficult and mountainous terrain. The shortage of rich farmland in the interior undoubtedly stimulated military action designed to gain more profitable lands; and those towns which were relatively prosperous fought hard to retain their economic and political independence, even within the confines of an ethnically homogeneous group. This partly

[1] A.Guillou. 'Production and Profits in the Byzantine Priovince of Italy in the tenth and Eleventh centuries' Culture et Société en Italie Byzantine (VIe-XIe s.) (London 1978) p.92.

[2] CV I Doc. 42 pp.262-263.

led to the inward looking mentality of a number of Lombard and non-Lombard regions referred to throughout the above, and resulted in the creation of a Lombard society fiercely divisive in nature. Such was the world that the Lombard princes tried to dominate, and their attempts and failures in this field forms the bulk of the following sections of this chapter.

D. Political Instability and Ethnic Identity[1]

It has already been pointed out that the political arena in Southern Italy was one which involved a highly complex series of factors, arising from the fact that the region was the battleground of no less than five major groups: the Lombards, the Western Empire, Byzantium, the Arabs, and the non-Lombardic coastal towns of Campania. Throughout the two centuries under discussion each one of these powers was to have a significant role to play, at different times and in different regions. It was, indeed, a scene of continual changes in the balance of power, and in spheres of political influence; of alliances and broken alliances; a thoroughly fluid situation which was further complicated by the internal disorders among the Lombards, and the policies pursued by the Holy See south of the papal territories. In an attempt to make some sense out of the confusion encountered and in order to explore the ethnic dimension of political activity it is necessary to focus on certain salient features of the situation which provide a key to the political developments in southern Italy.

This includes the internal political structure of the Lombard state; the princeship and the associated symbols of power; the court and the control of

[1] For the lines of descent of the ruling families of Benevento, Salerno and Capua respectively see, Figures II, III and IV.

gastaldates, and the evidence for Lombard leanings towards division, rather than towards political union. This will be followed by an assessment of the role of the external powers mentioned above and their attempts to either influence, or militarily subdue the Lombards. One cannot embark on a study of the ninth and tenth centuries, however, without first turning to the events of the earlier period. Nor can we afford to ignore the rule of Arichis II and his assumption of the title of prince in 774.

The nature of the social organisation of the earliest settlement of Lombards in Southern Italy, can be said to have incorporated certain elements which were to have a crucial effect on southern Lombard ethnogenesis. Firstly, the forces which were led by Alboin(568-572) into Italy, were formed not of a militarily and socially distinctive unity, but rather of a large number of tribal units or 'farae' which consisted of non-Lombard ethnic groups. Each fara consisted of a number of families which were based on a town from where raids into neighbouring territories could be organised. The 'fara' was settled in these towns under the leadership of a 'dux' who, significantly, ruled his own territories independent of the king's authority. It was during this early period of settlement that one of the 'farae' leaders, Zotto, travelled south over the Abruzzi, sacked Montecassino, and established his duchy round the old Roman town of

Benevento.[1] Even at this early stage, therefore, Lombard units in the south found themselves cut off from the north by the physical barriers described earlier, and, in turn, looked for leadership to a 'dux' who could, when he wished, pay little more than lip service to the authority of the main Lombard kingdom.

During the seventh century this latent independence was effectively strengthened by the military successes of the two Lombard Dukes; Grimoald I (649-662) and Romuald I (662-687) against the Byzantines. The emperor Constans II(641-668) faced with the threat of Arabs, and the loss of territory in southern Italy, attempted to halt the latter by personally leading forces to the region, in the hope of regaining the towns already lost to the Lombards, and thereby placing the Byzantine position on a strong footing. After disembarking at Taranto however, his troops were defeated by the Lombards close to their capital of Benevento and the emperor himself had to flee to Rome. Eventually he returned to Naples, and from there travelled to Syracuse, where he remained for six years reorganising the defence of southern Italy and the recovery of Apulia. His efforts in this field however, suffered a severe setback when the strategically important towns of Brindisi and Taranto, along with the territories which lay between them, were captured by

[1] See, G.P.Bognetti. L'Eta Longobarda (Milan 1966-68). Bognetti holds the view that Zotto was a mercenary in imperial service .

Lombard forces under the leadership of Duke Romuald. From then on effective Byzantine political presence on the mainland was limited to Calabria, where it was focused on the fortresses of Rossano, Crotone and Reggio (and Gallipoli in the Terra d'Otranto), although even here their rule was somewhat fragile.[1]

The Lombards in the south therefore, had not only effectively held their own against the Eastern Empire, but had won important territorial gains at the expense of the latter. This undoubtedly enhanced their own self image, which in turn helped emphasise their growing independence from the kingdom in the north, a fact which becomes clear throughout the eighth century when the Lombard kings found it increasingly difficult to impose any real measure of their authority in the south.

This was particularly noticeable in the relations between the Lombards of Benevento and the royal court in Pavia, which had to continually struggle in order to maintain any semblance of political influence in the southern duchy. On the one hand the dukes of Benevento could form an alliance with pope Gregory II against King Liutprand (728-729) while on the other hand they afterwards actually aided King Aistulf in his attacks on the duchy of Rome; ravaging Campania in 752, and in 756 unleashing a direct attack on the city itself. These actions appear to have been undertaken by the Beneventans

[1] J.Gay. op.cit., p.6.

as a means of acquiring booty and new territory, rather than as a result of any sense of loyalty to the Lombard royal house. The Lombard kings had tried to control the situation by imposing their own nominee for the position of duke on the Beneventans. This highlighted not only the king's awareness of the insecurity of royal power in the south, through his desire to maintain his own 'puppet' ruler there, but also the Beneventan resentment of such actions, as successive dukes elected in this way were ousted by the duchy's aristocracy.

King Liutprand, for example, had imposed his own foreign duke in the city after he had defeated the alliance with Gregory II, but in 739 his appointee was overthrown and the Beneventans elected another duke from within the local Beneventan aristocracy. The king was forced to lead an expedition south, but even then he could only secure the duchy for his protégé, Gisulf II, by making a number of concessions to the Lombards of the duchy. However, following the death of Liutprand in 744 the tenuous links between Benevento and the royal house were split once again, and tensions continued, as is evident from the laws of King Ratchis which labelled the duchies of Spoleto and Benvento as strangers and enemies.[1]

These troubles between the Lombard kingdom in the north and the Beneventan duchy had been inherent since

[1] J.Gay. op.cit., p.27.

the time of Zotto, and were to continue during the reign of Desiderius, the last of the Lombard kings. In order to bring these two duchies into line with his rule, he also led an expedition south occupying Spoleto and threatening Benevento. Following the earlier pattern he installed his own protégé, Arichis II, in the town in 758 and further enhanced the new duke's standing by giving him his daughter Adelperga's hand in marriage, thereby linking the Beneventan court directly to the royal Lombard court in the north. However, as is clear from the above, dukes could be overthrown and Arichis' rule before 774 was one in which he paid close heed to the wishes of the more powerful members of his aristocracy (a situation which was to change after he assumed the title of prince) since his period of rule, as duke alone, spanned sixteen years.

Generally the Beneventans worked in co-operation with the Lombards in the north only when they wished to, or when superior military forces dictated it. More often they strongly resented any attempts made on the part of the royal line to impose its authority, and they tolerated dukes installed by the kings only when they were accompanied with concessions, or when the duke himself was compliant to the wishes of the local aristocracy. The history of the interaction between the Lombards of the south and the royal court in the north illustrates the development of southern Lombard ethnic identity. As Paul Brass noted "Ethnic self-consciousness,

ethnically based demands, and ethnic conflict can occur only if there is some conflict either between indigenous and external elites and authorities or between indigenous elites".[1] In this sense each confrontation between the Lombards of the south and the Pavian court increased southern Lombard ethnic self consciousness. By 774, and the collapse of Desiderius, it was the natural step for Arichis, who was not only the representative of the already quasi-independent Lombard state in the south, but also the relative of Desiderius, to assume the title of prince.[2]

The adoption of this title by Arichis, however, did not automatically mean that all political powers now looked to the Beneventan 'duchy' as having rightfully inherited all the royal prerogatives of Desiderius. The Carolingians, at first, refused to recognise the title, and indeed, despite the desire for independent status, the Lombard court in the south lacked the ideological and symbolical framework necessary to bolster the image of a truly royal household. From the time of Arichis onwards the princes display a deep concern for the creation of just such an image as they began to adopt the accepted symbols of royal authority, which included the borrowing of religious and diplomatic elements from tradition, as well as from the established courts of the Carolingian

[1] P.Brass. op.cit.,p.26.
[2] F.Hirsch. 'Il ducato di Benevento', N.Acocella, La Longobardia meridionale (Roma 1968).

and Byzantine Empires. The prime concern of the princes was to show that the title had been bestowed upon them by divine providence, and accordingly we find that there was a marked increase in the acquisition of religious symbols which could act as a sign of God's approval of the new court. These activities, of course, also added weight to the southern Lombards' consciousness as a clearly defined ethnic group.

One factor which occurs time and again is their almost fanatical desire to acquire holy relics for the major towns of the principate; Salerno and Benevento. Arichis II, for example, searched all over Southern Italy for such sacred remains including those of one S.Mercurius who became one of the main Holy Protectors of Benevento and who was originally of Byzantine provenance.[1] A local legend relates that this particular saint was an Armenian soldier martyred at Caeserea, whose corpse was transported to Campania by Constans II, where it lay in an unknown tomb until discovered by Arichis.[2] Another Byzantine saint whose remains were acquired by the prince was S.Hellianus, one of the forty martyrs of Sebaste, whose relics were brought from Constantinople to Benevento by a Lombard ambassador.[3] This quest for relics did not diminish under the later princes and the anonymous author of the Chronicon Salernitanum wrote that

[1] J.Gay. op.cit.,p30
[2] Ex translatione S.Mercurii. MGH S.r.l, p.577.
[3] MGH S.r.l. Translatio sancti Heliani pp.581-582.

Sico captured the body of S.Januarius in Naples,[1] while Sicard transported relics from Amalfi to Salerno.[2] The same prince also arranged for the translation of the body of S.Bartholomew from the Lipari Islands to the capital where he had constructed a new church to receive them.[3] This desire to associate the princely position with holy martyrs and thereby with divine authority can also be seen in their church building programme and the rise in donations made to religious houses.

According to Erchempert, Prince Arichis donated generous gifts, as well as founding and restoring a number of churches and monasteries. We find that in Alife the prince built a church in honour of S.Benedict, and also founded a nunnery which he placed under the direction of S.Vincenzo al Volturno.[4] His most famous foundation was that of S.Sophia in Benevento, a church which has given rise to controversy. Chris Wickham argued that the use of the name Haghia Sophia was in direct imitation of Justinian's famous foundation in Constantinople[5] whereas Jules Gay, while acknowledging that the Lombards were probably dazzled by the prestige of Byzantium, argued that the name was actually derived from a local cult which, through time, naturally became confused with the Constantinopolitan church.[6] Jules

[1] CS c.57. pp.57-58.
[2] CS c.72-74. pp.71-73.
[3] Nicetas, Migne, Patrologia Graeca 105 col 215.
[4] Erchempert c.3, pp.235-236.
[5] C.Wickham. op.cit.
[6] J.Gay. op.cit., p46.

Gay's argument however, when seen in light of the evidence found in Erchempert is unconvincing, since the latter explicitly states that Arichis named the church "by the Greek expression Hagia Sophia".[1] Although writing at the end of the ninth century it is unlikely that the knowledge of a local cult would have died out completely, nor would Erchempert have been concerned to emphasize Byzantine influence on the founding prince of Benevento, since the Greeks had by 890, completely devastated the territories of Benevento, and were threatening domination of all Lombard lands. In the late eighth century however it would have been natural for Arichis to consciously adopt the Greek term, hoping to convey all of its symbolical significance to his palace church in the Lombard capital.

The collection of relics and the patronage given to churches and monasteries was a measure designed to enhance the position of the prince, and also to bolster his control of territories which were far removed from the central authority. This was particularly the case during the reign of Pandolf I 'Ironhead' who worked in close alliance with the monasteries of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino; offering them his protection and aiding them in regaining land which had been lost after the Arab incursions of the ninth century. In order to assist this last process Pandolf conceded to abbot

[1] Erchempert c.3. pp.235-236.

Paul II of S.Vincenzo the right to construct towers and castles on the estates of the monastery, from which local land could be both protected and managed.[1]

There is also evidence that he participated in court cases which were called, in the presence of the prince, the bishops and judges, to contest the possession of property. One such case was recorded in 968, between S.Vincenzo and Count Raniero over the possession of the monastery of S.Maria of Apinianici. After examining the evidence the case was judged in favour of Paul II of S.Vincenzo.[2] Similarly he defended the territory of S.Benedict against the counts of Alife in the 980's,[3] and also donated territory to the same monastery, such as lands in Terelle in 967.[4] While such support on the part of the prince resulted in a period of relative prosperity for the monasteries, it was conversely true that monastic and ecclesiastical support for Pandolf I 'Ironhead' undoubtedly enhanced the prince's political standing, and it is significant to reflect on the fact that he ruled a state which had not been so extensive since the days of Arichis II, stretching as it did from Ancona to Calabria.

Although the support of the church was important to the princes there were other measures that they could employ in order to bolster their new political standing. Arichis II's coronation was in itself symbolic: he was

[1] CV II pp.162-164. Document dated July 27, 967.
[2] CV II pp.146-150. Document dated August 29, 968.
[3] Chron Cas II , 6.
[4] R.Poupardin. op.cit., pp.153-154.

anointed by the church and had a crown placed upon his head, and for the first time the Lombard diplomas carried the phrase, "written in our royal palace".[1] The diplomas of the ninth and tenth centuries do provide us with a good insight into the particular royal symbols which the Lombards considered important, and also the provenance of such elements. Arichis, for example, introduced into his diplomas the epithet vir excellentissimus which was usually employed as a characteristic of royal dignity. At the same time the title of prince was also accompanied with the important formula, Dei providentia, thereby further enhancing the image of divine approval. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Lombard chancery imitated elements found in royal Carolingian diplomas, the most conspicuous being their use of princely monograms, which are also found on the seals of Pandolf and Landolf.[2] However, although a great deal of effort was expended in acquiring and enhancing such symbols of royal authority, the real position of the princes in the south was hampered by considerable internal disorders, which made it difficult for them to maintain, for long, a stable political infrastructure upon which to build a powerful central authority.

[1] J.Gay. op.cit., p.29.
[2] For a detailed discussion of the ninth and tenth century southern Lombard diplomas see:R.Poupardin. "Étude sur la diplomatique des princes Lombards de Bénévent, de Capoue et de Salerne", in Mélanges d'Archéologie et D'Histoire: Ecole Francaise de Rome, 21 (1901) pp.115-180.

Problems which directly affected the level of authority wielded by the princes were manifold and, to a great extent, inherited from the character of the early Lombard duchy. Moreover, they were fundamentally connected to the precise position of the prince within the Lombard hierarchy and his relationship to the court aristocracy. It has been claimed that it was only after the death of Arichis II that the aristocracy began to play a major role in the direction of affairs.[1] However, it has already been shown in this paper that even in the eighth century the aristocracy had a powerful influence on the court and on the duke himself. Furthermore, the troubles between Benevento and the Lombard kingdom in the same century highlight the fact that the aristocracy could actually elect a new duke, paying little heed to lines of hereditary succession if such a course of action threatened to be potentially detrimental to their own position.

Their ability to elect a leader did not diminish in the ninth century, and indeed a great many princes assumed the throne by this means: Grimoald IV(806-817), Sico(817-832) and Radelchis had all been 'voted' into office in this manner. In reference to the latter, Erchempert relates that his 'election' had the "approval of the whole of the province of Benevento".[2] The political stability of the princes therefore largely

[1] J.Gay. op.cit., p.46.
[2] Erchempert c.14, p.240. Also, CS c.77, p.75.

depended on the support of the aristocracy: if the princes alienated any members of the court then their authority could be seriously weakened, and individual princes could fall victim to assassination. Such was the case with Grimoald IV who was murdered by Sico, gastald of Acerenza and court treasurer, and also Prince Sicard who was killed by Adelferius.[1] Both of these princes had been assassinated by members of the aristocracy who thought of them as tyrants. Even as late as 973 we find that Gisulph I of Salerno could be dethroned by a discontented nobility aided by Amalfi and Naples, and a usurper, Landulf, put in his place. Gisulf himself was restored to power only with the support of Pandolf I 'Ironhead', who had in turn been promised the Salernitan succession, which he duly assumed on the death of the childless Gisulf in 977.[2]

The tensions within the ruling Lombard élite were exacerbated by the fact that most of the princes had been promoted from the office holding ranks of the court aristocracy; for example, Grimoald IV had held the office of stolesayz, while both Sico and Radelchis had been court treasurers. These successful assumptions of royal power undoubtedly promoted the powerful notion that any member of the aristocracy could be considered as being in line for the throne. The relationship between

[1] CS c.53,p.54.
[2] C.W.Previté-Orton. "Italy in the 10th Century", Cambridge Medieval History. Volume III (Cambridge University Press, 1930) pp.148-178.

prince and aristocracy was, therefore, founded on a very ill-defined and dangerous basis; a factor which was aggravated by the total disregard for any hereditary line of succession. Even after the death of Pandolf I 'Ironhead' in March 981 there was no clearly accepted line of inheritance and consequently the Lombard territories split in confusion. One of his sons, Landolf IV, inherited Capua/Benevento, while another, also called Pandolf ruled in Salerno. However, the Salernitan aristocracy who were dissatisfied with the new ruler overthrew him and elected Pandolf I's nephew, Pandolf II, as prince of Salerno.[1]

Clearly the support of the officers of court was crucial to the princes' maintenance of authority and power. Throughout the sources we find numerous references to these officials and their titles including, referendarius, vestarius, marepahis, cubicularius, thesaurarius (or treasurer), although the particular functions associated with each office remain somewhat obscure.[2] The outlying territories of the principate were, however, governed by gastalds (who later became known as counts). As well as being the local representatives of the central administration in a given region, they could also at the same time hold offices in court. This was the case with Sico mentioned above, who

[1] Ibid., p.169.
[2] A great many of these titles are found throughout all of the major source material including Erchempert and Chronicon Vulternense.

was the gastald of Acerenza and also court treasurer. Although from an early period the dukes, and later the princes, could choose their own gastalds[1] this did not result in them gaining their complete support. It must be remembered that Sico, who had been favoured by Grimoald IV, was involved in the murder of the prince. One way of solving this potential problem adopted by the princes was that of giving gastaldates to their relatives in the hope that this would ensure their support. In the tenth century, for example, Pandolf I enhanced his authority by donating to his second cousin the county of Isernia, and also by making his brother, John, the first archbishop of Capua.

These measures alone, however, were not sufficient to maintain the internal peace of the state. Towns, for example, had to be forced to pay taxes and this regularly led to minor revolts under the leadership of disaffected members of the nobility, who had suffered from the confiscations of property made by the princes.[2] Arichis himself, whose reign was one of the most stable up to the period of Pandolf I, was at one stage the intended victim of an assassination plot and had to flee to Otranto which was by that time under Byzantine control.[3] Under Prince Sicard one noble by the name of Alfanus, managed to gather round him about 400 men and rebelled against the

[1] J.Gay. op.cit.,p.26.
[2] Ibid.,p.43. Also CS c.68, pp.65-66.
[3] J.Gay. op.cit.,p.31.

measures taken by Rofrid, the referendarius of Sicard.[1] In the first half of the tenth century the conflicts between Landolf I of Benevento and Guaimar II of Salerno in Apulia, had initially been sparked off by a series of uprisings in the Apulian cities. The princes found such events hard to deal with since the lack of a standing army meant that the princes had to rely heavily on the support of the gastalds, who in turn were responsible for the demesne of the state (although the evidence suggests that gastalds functioned virtually independently from the Beneventan court). In the provinces their power was considerable since the local population tended to look to the gastald as their main leader rather than to Benevento.

These same problems were to come to the fore during the civil war between Salerno and Benevento which lasted from 839 - 849/50. In this conflict the power and the importance of the aristocracy became clear, as did the weakness of the prince. After the murder of Sicard the Beneventan faction elected his treasurer Radelchis as the new prince,[2] while a group of aristocratic exiles who had based themselves on Salerno, organised the escape of Sicard's brother, Siconulf, from Otranto and proclaimed him sole ruler.[3] The Salernitan faction was joined by the gastalds of Conza, Apulia and significantly

[1] CS c.69-70, pp.66-70. R.Poupardin. op.cit., p.131.
[2] Erchempert c.14. p.240.
[3] CS c.79, pp.75-77.

Acerenza, where Siconulf's father, Sico, had been count, thereby establishing strong links between the region and his own family. However, both sides found it difficult to maintain an army of any kind without enlisting Arab mercenaries and paying them great subsidies for their support.[1] Radelchis employed the services of the Saracens led by Khalfun, who had taken Bari from the gastald Pando.[2] While Siconulf turned to the Arabs based on Taranto, under the leadership of Apolaffar,[3] who, after quarreling with Siconulf, joined the services of Radelchis. When Siconulf with the aid of Capua and Spoleto besieged Benevento it was the Saracens who defended the town.[4]

This inability to raise a strictly Lombard force, and dependence on the Arabs was extremely costly for the princes, not only by way of the subsidies paid out, but also because of the destruction that was caused to Lombard territory. According to Erchempert, the new Saracen leader based in Benevento, Massar, "laid waste everything inside and outside the city - to the extent that they had no respect even for the nobility of the place".[5] This costly war had arisen directly out of the

[1] Ibid.,c.81. pp.79-81.
[2] Erchempert c.16, pp.240-241.
[3] Ibid., c.17, p.241.
[4] M.Schipa, 'Storia de Principato Longobardo di Salerno' ASPN 12 (1887) p.100.
[5] Erchempert c.18, p.241. Arab names are given in their Italian form as found in G.Musca, L'emirato di Bari 847-871. (Bari 1978).

ambitions of certain factions in the Lombard aristocracy, without whose support Siconulf could never have been proclaimed prince. More than this, the civil war, provides us with a significant indication of the rift between the central court and the provincial gastaldates, the more powerful of whom joined Siconulf and dramatically opposed the central authority of Benevento. Moreover in this same period we also find other towns fighting for their independence from both the Salernitans and the central Lombard court. This element was predominantly apparent in the gastaldate of Capua under the leadership of Landolf I(815-843) who built the castle of Sicopolis, from where he began the process of privatising the lands of the northern gastalds. The virtual independence of Capua was recognised under the control of his sons, who in their turn suffered from revolts led by minor nobles; especially Rodoald of Aquino, who erected the castle of Pontecorvi in the 860's as a defence against the powers of Capua. Thus even in the case of Capua the position of the local ruler was affected by the same problems which attended the prince in Benevento. In particular the recurring problem of hereditary control was to cause major internal disorders in Capua in 879 when the last of Landolf's sons died. In that year the Capuan family split into a number of warring gastalds, and the ensuing confusion was not settled until 887, when one of these, Atenolf of Calvi,

seized the town of Capua with the aid of Athanasius of Naples.

Although princes in the years between 774 and the death of Pandolf I Ironhead in 981 had acquired the symbols of royal dignity, in reality the basis of their power was little different from that of the early dukes. They were always very much at the mercy of the wishes of the aristocracy, while the state itself was crippled by strongly localised factors which prompted various gastalds to look to the establishment of their own independence free of Benevento. The overall result of such dangerous notions was the civil war and the continual insurrections and divisions of the state, which were further complicated by the attempts made by all the other major powers in Christendom to exert their influence over the south, and by the rising incursions of the Arabs in the ninth century.

The Arabs who were strengthened by their growing presence in Sicily, occupying over one third of the island by 830,[1] began to make sporadic attacks and inroads on the mainland in the same decade. The Arabs made their first appearance in southern Italy as allies of Duke Andreas of Naples against Sicard of Benevento in the period 832-836. Although these attacks consisted principally of guerrilla raiding and acts of piracy, they were soon established as a potent force in the south,

[1] A.Ahmad. A History of Islamic Sicily (Edinburgh University Press, 1975).

even threatening the Holy See itself with an attack on S.Peter's in 846.On that occasion they were pursued from Rome by the Frankish troops whom Lothar had charged with the defence of the city.[1] With their capture of Brindisi in 838, and Bari, during the Lombard civil war, and finally Taranto, the Adriatic was more open to the Arab fleets, and as a result much of Apulia remained in Arab hands from 849-866 with their strength based on the Bari/Taranto axis.

From this position of strength in the south they made sporadic attacks northwards, threatening Benevento in 851, and defeating a Frankish army near the town in 858. Meanwhile, the forces under Mufarrag ibn Sallam in Bari occupied about 48 fortresses throughout Apulia and also raided Neapolitan territory. Eventually two guerrilla raids resulted in the sack of the two great monasteries in Southern Italy; S.Vincenzo was attacked in 881,[2] and Montecassino was sacked in 883 and its abbot Bertharius killed.[3] While this appears to be quite a dramatic sequence of events we must look at the attitudes of the Lombards towards the Muslims and their appearance in the south.

Not surprisingly the authors of the chronicles were all heavily biased against the Arabs and their attacks on

[1] Ibid.,p18. J.Gay. op.cit.,p.55.
[2] CV II p.370.
[3] CC I c.44-50.
Erchempert, p.255.

the towns and the monasteries in Lombard territory.[1] However, in reality the situation on the ground was much more open and fluid than the chroniclers would suggest. We have already seen that both factions during the civil war did not hesitate to employ Arab mercenaries, even though the penalty for doing so appeared high. Likewise they may have been allies of Andreas of Naples in the 830's, and in 915 we find that Amalfi refused to join the attack on the Garigliano for fear of alienating the Muslims and thereby threatening their trade privileges. In 881 the Arabs of Sepino, in alliance with count Guy of Spoleto overran Isernia and Boiano, occupying the upper Volturno valley.[2] There is also an illuminating tale in the chronicle of Salerno which informs us that a Muslim by the name of Arrane saved the city by warning his christian friend of an impending Arab attack in 871.[3] Furthermore, after the Lombards had taken Louis II prisoner and had to restore him to freedom in the face of a Saracen threat,[4] a popular air, supposedly sung by the soldiers at the time portrays the Muslims as the avengers of the emperor on the people of Benevento.[5]

It is clear, therefore, that the various Lombard factions, rather than putting up a united front against

[1] For example, Erchempert regarded the Arabs as a divinely inspired retribution in response to the decadence of the Lombard state.
[2] J.Gay. op.cit.,pp.109-134.
[3] CS c.110, pp.122-123.
[4] J.Gay. op.cit.,p.103
[5] MGH Poetae latini III. pp.404-405.

the Arab attacks, sought to employ them to help fulfil their own ends; and also that a great deal more intimate contact existed between them than simply one which was dominated by fear. It is true that Arabs forced the Lombards to desert land, and in one sense heralded the collapse of monasticism, and the abandonment of episcopal sees, a fact which was mentioned in a synod held at Benevento in the late ninth century.[1] Nevertheless it is evident that a large degree of tolerance existed between Lombard and Arab which is not generally found in the chronicles. It is also true to say that the major expeditions against the Arabs received their main impetus from either the Byzantines or the Western Empire, such as Louis' attempt to take Bari in 866, and the attack on the Garigliano in 915, which was led by the Byzantine strategos Nicholas Picingli. Indeed the Muslim threat was taken more seriously by these powers, and above all by the papacy, than the Lombards themselves, who appear to have adopted a much more open and ambivalent attitude towards the Arabs.

The one pope above all others in this period who was primarily concerned with the Arab incursions in the south was John VIII, already the subject of a short study by F.E.Engreen who claimed that the central problem of

[1] G.Morin. "Un concile inédit tenu dans l'Italie meridionale à la fin du IXe siecle" in Revue Bénédictine 18 (1900) pp147-151.

John's pontificate was his struggle with the Muslims.[1] And indeed, it appears from the large number of John VIII's letters which are still extant that this was in fact the case. In a letter of 876 to Waiferius of Salerno he argues the case for ending all coalitions with the Arabs as a basis for peace in Southern Italy.[2] He also attempted to end all internal strife in the region since he was well aware that only a united Italy could effectively resist the Arabs. For example, in a letter of 14 March 881 to Archbishop Athanasius of Naples he sought to prevent the Neapolitans from invading Capua Vetere.[3] He even looked to Gregorius, the commander of the Greek army in Southern Italy in April 877 for aid against the Saracens.[4] Undoubtedly his most dramatic plea, however, was made to the rulers of Western Christendom when he warned them of the destruction of Christianity and called on them to save the church.[5] After John's death, however, effective papal authority collapsed. This collapse was accompanied by a marked economic and administrative decline in the Holy See which Walter Ullmann related directly to the decline of the Frankish monarchy,[6] and as Graham Loud has rightly stated no real papal involvement was forthcoming until

[1] F.E.Engreen. "Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs," Speculum, 20 (1945), pp.318-330.
[2] MGH Epistolae VII, Karolini Aevi Tomus V(1928) 29.p.28.
[3] Ibid.,number 273. p.241.
[4] Ibid.,number 46, p.44.
[5] Ibid.,p.10.
[6] W.Ullmann. The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages (Northampton, 1970). p.229.

the time of Leo IX.[1] The external powers which were, in fact, extensively involved in Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries were those of Byzantium and the Western Empire.

While in theory the Lombards had always looked to the Western Empire, in reality, the emperor's authority was weak, and many imperial expeditions southwards proved to be either failures or transient in their effects. For instance, in 788 Charlemagne, who had been holding Arichis' son Grimoald hostage,[2] returned him to the principate on his father's death in return for the new prince's submission, the payment of an annual tribute, and also with the promise that the name of the king of the Franks should appear on the coinage and in diplomas of the Lombards. Although, at first, these stipulations were adhered to Grimoald before long paid them little heed.[3] We also find that Sico, who had sent ambassadors with a promise of submission and tribute to Louis the Pious, in fact paid the money very irregularly. In response to the lapsing of Grimoald, Charlemagne sent his son Pepin to southern Italy to subdue the unruly vassals in 793 and 800, but both of these expeditions proved disastrous. The whole political situation was pertinently summarised by Jules Gay when he stated that the official

[1] G.Loud, Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua (1058-1197) (Oxford, 1985) p.35.

[2] Einhard, The Life of Charlemagne c.10 p.65.
[3] Erchempert c.5, p.236.

subordination of the Lombards to the emperor was seen at the Beneventan court as a mere alliance.[1]

The Lombards were prepared to recognize the domination of the empire only when military superiority dictated it or when they wished to enlist the support of the emperor to help fulfil their own political goals. This was the case with Siconulf who, following the advice of Guy of Spoleto, travelled to Rome and paid a tribute of 50,000 gold coins, and gave solemn oaths in order to win over Lothar to his faction, (although in this case he was unsuccessful).[2] It was only when the emperors worked in consort with the principal Lombard leaders that they had a fairly secure foothold in southern Italy. Otto I's success in the region was due primarily to his close association with Pandolf I 'Ironhead' whom he entrusted with his planned conquest of Apulia in 969, during which the prince was captured and briefly taken to Constantinople. At the same time the emperors favoured the important abbeys of S.Vincenzo and Montecassino in an attempt to establish their authority south of the Abruzzi.

In the Chronicon Vulturnense there are a number of documents which relate to confirmations made by Otto I to the monastery. In 962 he confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to the monastery by Desiderius,

[1] J.Gay. op.cit.,pp.39-40.
[2] Erchempert c.18, p.241.

Charlemagne, Louis II and Lothar;[1] and in 968 he confirmed the monastery's possession of the abbey of S.Maria in Apinianici.[2] Nevertheless, despite this association with the monasteries the emperor required the services of a friendly prince in order to enhance the effectiveness of his influence in the south. Consequently, after the death of Pandolf I, northern attempts to bolster their authority in the region proved to be a series of failures; as in the campaign of Otto II in 981-982 which attempted to put an end to the political confusion following Pandolf I's death. Furthermore, we also find once again that the Lombards were more than unwilling to accept a ruler imposed on them by external authorities, when Ademarius, Otto III's protégé foisted on Capua in 999 was overthrown in less than a year.[3] the Western empire's involvement in the south, although at times dramatic, actually carried very little weight, since the Lombards, who were on the one hand willing to accept and adopt Carolingian symbols of royal dignity, were on the other hand totally unwilling to accept any attempts made by the empire in exerting a real authority over them.

The Byzantine Empire which had lost a great deal of land under the attacks of duke Romuald of Benevento, had never renounced it's claims on southern Italy, although

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[1] CV II pp.127-133.
[2] Ibid., pp.151-154.
[3] CC II 15

they did have to come to terms with the conquests of Charlemagne in the north as is attested by the treaties between the Western Emperor and the Greek emperors Nicephorus and Michael in 803 and 812, in which the Byzantines retained Calabria and Sicily.[1] In the early ninth century their influence in the south consisted merely of distributing titles to Lombard princes; Arichis II, for example, had received from the empress Irene the title of Patrician, which placed him higher in the Byzantine hierarchy than his main opponent, the Duke of Naples, whose town was subject to the Eastern Empire. Moreover, Lombards had always looked to the Byzantine court as a possible source of patronage: Arichis' brother had travelled there, and it had been the intention of Sico to do the same before Grimoald appointed him gastald of Acerenza. Furthermore, and contrary to the image portrayed by G.Loud, the Byzantine successes in the south in the latter half of the ninth century were very real and impressive indeed.[2] In 876 they occupied Bari and by 888, after expelling the Arabs from Taranto they possessed the whole of Apulia, where they employed members of the Lombard aristocracy as officials and local administrators.

This upsurge in Byzantine expansion in the south was not limited to regaining territory from the Muslims, but also involved massive incursions into southern Lombard

[1] MGH SS I p.191.
[2] G.Loud. op.cit., pp.26-27.

lands; Salerno becoming a client state of Constantinople in 886, and Benevento itself being conquered in 892, and ruled by a Byzantine strategos until 895, when the town was liberated by Guy of Spoleto. The period of this occupation had a very real effect on the psyche of the local Lombards as is clear from the fact that during the period of the joint principate of Capua/Benevento in the tenth century, diplomas drawn up in the latter town were consistently dated according to the Byzantine regnal years.

The Greeks also tried to consolidate their authority through patronising the Latin monasteries of the Lombards. For example in 892, the patrician and strategos of Benevento, Georgius extended imperial protection to Abbot Maio of S.Vincenzo, to S.Peter's near Benevento and to S.Maria in Locosano.[1] However, by the time the Greeks were ousted from Benevento by Guy of Spoleto they had by then reached the limits of their territorial recovery in southern Italy. They had failed to capture Capua,[2] and an expedition sent to Teano in 886 had proved ineffective.[3] By the mid-tenth century they faced, in Pandolf I 'Ironhead', the strongest Lombard ruler since the days of Arichis II. Pandolf had the backing of the great monastic centres, and also had the

[1] CV II pp.21-23.
[2] N.Cilento. Le origini della signoria capuana nella longobardia minore (Rome 1966). pp.144-145.

[3] Erchempert c.66, p.260.

complete support of Otto I; two factors which undoubtedly enabled Pandolf to control the largest principate in the south in over 100 years.

Throughout the entire period under discussion one factor of continuity is evident: namely the fierce independence of the Lombards in the face of both Byzantine and Western Empires. Despite the internecine struggles which tore apart southern Lombard society there was a continuing and highly expressive Lombard ethnic self consciousness. This identity was distinctly exhibited in Lombard relations with all external powers and although their leaning towards independence was to some extent promoted by their remoteness from the seats of eastern and western power (or indeed from the northern Lombard kingdom based in Pavia) it was these struggles with external forces and contact with different cultures which increased Lombard ethnic self consciousness.

The role of warfare, for example, in encouraging ethnic awareness cannot be over estimated. As Anthony Smith argued, "while it would be an exaggeration to deduce the sense of common ethnicity from the fear of the 'outsider' and paired antagonisms, there is no denying the central role of warfare.....as a mobilizer of ethnic sentiments and national consciousness, a centralising force in the life of the community and a provider of myths and memories for future generations. It is perhaps this last function that enters most deeply into the

constitution of ethnic identity".[1] The southern Lombard wars in the seventh century, therefore, can be seen as a central and significant event in the ethnogenesis of Lombard self consciousness. This consciousness was crystalised and focused with the Lombard struggles against the Carolingians and the Byzantines in the ninth century.

Curiously, Lombard ethnic identity was also intensified precisely because the area was a meeting point of different cultures. As was indicated at the beginning of this section the Lombard regions in southern Italy were caught up in the struggles between Carolingians, Byzantines, Arabs, Lombards and the Papacy and this had a direct effect on Lombard ethnic identity. Eugeen Roosens, for example, pointed out that "the intensity with which a group profiles itself as an ethnic group, and with which individuals stress their ethnicity, generally increases when there is intense spatial - geographical and social contact between groups. The most isolated "traditional" group of people is probably the least ethnically defined".[2] The different ethnic and cultural groups which the Lombards came into contact with, therefore, served to heighten and develop a southern Lombard ethnic self consciousness.

Ironically, while the threat and presence of foreigners intensified Lombard ethnic identity overall, it

[1] A.Smith. op.cit.,p.27.
[2] E.Roosen. op.cit.,p.12.

aslo sustained and encouraged internal Lombard disunion. The complex history of the Lombard internecine struggles consists of a long line of different aristocratic factions vying for overall control of the Beneventan principality, or for autonomous independence. In the process these factions sought the support of mercenaries such as the Arabs, or allied themselves with Neapolitans, Greeks and Franks as a means of increasing their own capacity to gain overall power. These circumstances, which were peculiar to southern Italy, increased southern Lombard ethnic identity and at the same time increased their internal political divisiveness.

One of the main attributes of an ethnic community identified by Professor A.D. Smith was "a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population".[1] Nowhere was this factor more dramatically evident than in the sphere of Lombard Law. Modern anthropologists and sociologists have demonstrated that the myths, symbols, values and memories of a particular community were encoded in that community's laws. Moreover, it has also been commented that laws could "leave their imprint on the perceptions of subsequent generations and shape the structures and atmosphere of the community through the distinctive traditions they deposit".[2] Law, therefore, was central to the development and maintenance of a distinct ethnic identity.

Under the Lombard kings of Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries laws were written down in Latin between 643 and 755: King Rothair's major edict, which contained 388 titles, was the first attempt to reproduce the customs of the Lombards in a code of law in 643. This was supplemented with a number of additions issued during the following century: King Grimoald in 688 (9 titles); the laws of King Liutprand issued at different times during his reign (153 titles); the laws of King Ratchis, 745 or 746 (14 titles); and the laws of King Aistulf, c.750 (24 titles).

Additional laws were added by the Beneventan princes Arichis (17 titles issued in 774) and Adelchis (8 titles issued in 866). The Beneventan laws were appended to the earlier Lombard Edicts and were regarded as a legitimate continuation of the Lombard laws. It was clear from the prologue to Adelchis' titles, for example, that one of the intentions of the prince in making these new laws was to preserve uncontaminated the traditions of the Lombard kingdom. In promulgating these new laws the Beneventan princes emphasised their perception of themselves as the rightful heirs of the Lombard Kingdom, since law was always considered a royal prerogative.[3]

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[1] See p.9 above.
[2] A.D.Smith. The Ethnic Origins of Nations (Oxford 1986) p.4.
[3] A.Pertile, Storia del diritto italiano Vol.I. p.248.

The Lombard laws were also intimately linked to Lombard tribal tradition. Each copy of the laws, for example, included, in their a preface, the early seventh century text of the Origo gentis langobardorum. The central narrative of this text was an explanation of the origins of the Lombards, and its related how the gens received its name from the god Wotan after he had granted them victory in a battle against the Vandals.[1]

The Lombard laws also contain specific references which denote ethnic group consciousness. P.Amory has claimed that "the chief criterion for the existence of ethnic identity is merely people's perception of ethnic difference".[2] Such perceptions of ethnic difference were clearly expressed, not only through the promulgation of a specific Lombard law, but also through the terminology applied in the individual titles within the Lombard codes.

Title 367 of Rothair's Edict, for example, contains ethnic terminology to the extent of clearly defining foreigners:

> Omnes waregang, qui de exteras fines in regni nostri finibus advenerint, seque sub scuto potestatis nostrae subdederint, legibus nostris Langobardorum vivere debeant, nisi si aliam legem ad pietatem nostram meruerint.[3]

Title 127 of Liutprand's edicts which concerns the marriage of a Roman man and a Lombard woman was a powerful expression of the perceived ethnic difference between Romans and Lombards.[4]

Significantly the Lombard laws also linked the Lombard gens with divine grace. This was expressly proclaimed throughout the laws. For example, in the prologue to the edicts issued by King Liutprand in 721 the king stated that "I,

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[1] D.Harrison, "Dark age Migrations .....", p.25

[2] P.Amory , "Ethnic terminology..." p.4.

[3] MGH Legum III (Hannover 1868) F. Bluhme (ed) p.85.

[4] Ibid., p.160.: "Si quis Romanus homo mulierem Langobardam tolerit, et mundium ex ea fecerit, et post eius decesseum ad alium ambolaverit maritum sine volontatem heredum prioris mariti, faida et anagrip non requiratur;..."

Liutprand, in the name of God the almighty, most excellent king of the divinely chosen Catholic nation of the Lombards..."[1] The same king added further titles in 723, and on that occasion proclaimed that, "now we add additional titles designed for the salvation of our nation.."[2]

By definition the Lombard laws categorised the population into Lombard and non-Lombard. As K.F.Drew maintained "the law by which a man was to be judged was determined by his birth rather than by the territory in which he dwelt".[3]

In practice both the promulgation of the laws and their application in courts of law involved the most influential members of Lombard society. In the prologue to Prince Adelchis' Edicts of 866 it was stated that the laws were ratified in the royal palace at Benevento in the presence of the prince, his brother, abbot Aio of Benevento, counts, abbots and caeterisque nostris magnatibus.[4]

In the court cases which are recorded in the Chronicon Vulturnense in the tenth century it is similarly clear that Lombard legal proceedings involved a great many influential Lombards. For example, in 936 there was a court case contested between Abbot Rambald of S.Vincenzo and Maio a nobleman of Capua over the possession of various lands in the vicinity of Teano. The trial was conducted before Ausenzio, the iudex of Capua, the iudex Sichelmo and other unnamed Lombard noblemen.[5] Such iudices were clearly men of standing in the community. This is a factor highlighted by Maria Galante who cited their increasing presence as signatories to legal documents as an indication of their rank and credibility as witnesses.[6]

The Lombard laws had a profound hold on Lombard society. After 774, the Frankish kings recognised the importance

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[1] K.F.Drew The Lombard Laws (Philadelphia 1973) p.153.
[2] Ibid., p.157.
[3] Ibid., p.12.)
[4] MGH Edict cet p.177.
[5] CV Vol II Doc.88. pp.44-52.
[6] M.Galante "Il notaio e il documento notarile a salerno in epoca longobarda" Per una storia del notariato mridionale (Roma 1982) pp.77-78.

of the Lombard codes and allowed Lombard law to remain in force in the Carolingian Kingdom of Italy. Nevertheless, in these circumstances one would have expected the political dominance of the Carolingians to lead to the adoption of Frankish legal practices in the north of Italy. However, Lucas Bruyning has demonstrated that Lombard legal institutions, particularly the conduct of trials, remained loyal to Lombard procedures, and did not adopt Frankish customs.[1]

This attachment to Lombard law was even greater in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy, where Roman law was not professed, and where Carolingian influence was negligible. It is also evident that there was a tradition of copying the Lombard laws in southern Italy. F.Bluhme has argued that the copy of the laws in the Codex Matritensis D117 were probably written in the principality of Benevento or Salerno in the tenth century.[2] Similarly, the collection held in the Codex Casinas 353 were probably copied by scribes of the Cassinese congregation at the time of Abbot Iohannes (915-934).[3]

Patrick Wormald has emphasised the symbolic role of written law as a bolster to Germanic kingship. He claimed, for example, that "the mere fact of legislation makes him (the ruler) more of a king".[4] This view although overstated still has some significance. Legislation was a royal prerogative and Prince Arichis and Prince Adelchis in issuing laws demonstrated their royal status. At the same time these laws were functional codes which were utilised by Lombard iudices and employed in courts of law.

The Lombard laws were of immense importance in developing and sustaining the deep sense of Lombard ethnic identity. Through these laws, Lombard customs became the legal framework within which Lombard society was regulated. Their

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[1] L.F.Bruyning "Law proceedings in the Lombard kingdom before and after the Frankish conquest" Journal of Medieval History ii no 3 (1985) pp.193-214.

[2] MGH Legum IIII (Hannover 1868) F.Bluhme (ed) pp.XXVII-XXIX.

[3] Ibid., pp.XLII-XLIII.

[4] P.Wormald, "Lex Scripta and Verbum: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut", Early Medieval Kingship, PH Sawyer and I N Wood (eds) (Leeds 1977) p.106.

promulgation enhanced the prestige of the Lombard kings and later enhanced the regal nature of the Beneventan princes. If we look again at A.D.Smith's attributes of an ethnic community it is clear that the Lombard laws can be accommodated under point 6:"a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population". However, the full significance of Lombard law lies in the fact that the law also spanned other ethnic attributes highlighted by Smith.[1] For example, "a collective proper name" was clearly and explicitly expressed throughout all the Lombard edicts. "A myth of common ancestry", and "shared historical memories" can be discerned in the laws: not only was the Origo gentis langobardorum tacked on to the beginning of the laws, but Rothair's code also named the 'historic' 17 Lombard kings who preceded his rule. "One or more differentiating elements of common culture" was d expressed through the simple promulgation of laws which were intended specifically for members of the Lombard gens.

The Lombard laws, therefore, not only governed how the Lombard people regulated their lives, but were also a powerful symbol of Lombard self conscious ethnic distinctiveness.Through their laws the Lombards helped define their own identity.

[1] For Smith's points see p.9 above.

Part II

Monasticism and the Lombard Aristocracy

Introduction

A study of the relations between the monasteries of the Lombard principalities of southern Italy and the local aristocracy can provide answers to important questions regarding the development of monasticism in the ninth and tenth centuries. The main questions addressed in this part of the thesis are; what role did the monasteries have in developing southern Lombard ethnic identity? Why was monasticism so important in the Lombard principalities? Was monasticism as it developed in southern Italy different from that which emerged in other regions of Early medieval Europe?

Section A discusses aristocratic patronage of monasteries and looks specifically at why aristocrats made donations in favour of monastic houses. Scholars have looked at this issue in respect of the Carolingian territories in the ninth century and for other regions of Europe in later centuries. However, the evidence for southern Italy has, to date, not been analysed. Mario del Treppo's research on S.Vincenzo which was published in 1956[1] did address the economic dimension of the donations made to the monastery in the ninth century but did not

[1] M.Del Treppo, 'La vita economica e sociale in una grande abbazia del mezzogiorno: San Vincenzo al Volturno nell'alto medioevo', ASPN 35 (1955-56) pp.32-110.

assess why such donations were made.

One of the most lucid overviews of the reasons for aristocratic monastic patronage was made by Constance Bouchard who concluded that their motives could be considered under six headings: salvation; political; economic; role of ecclesiastical relatives; crisis as motivation and 'for the good of my soul'.[1] However, there is an additional factor which led aristocrats to patronise monasteries (particularly in southern Italy) which has not, to date, received due critical attention. That is, the link between monastic patronage and the need of a particular social group or gens to express their ethnic identity. This subject will be examined in Section A of this chapter. It will be demonstrated that there was a fundamental connection between the need to express identity and patronage. It will be established that monasteries such as S.Vincenzo al Volturno and S.Sophia at Benevento, amassed great wealth and territorial possessions primarily because the Lombard aristocracy wished to enhance their group identity. In short, it will be demonstrated that when the Carolingians or the Byzantines threatened Lombard independence, Lombard aristocratic patronage of the monasteries increased.

The discussion will focus on the ninth century since the political and monastic developments of the tenth

[1] C.B.Bouchard, Sword, Miter, and Cloister. Nobility and the Church in Burgundy,980-1198. (London, 1987) pp.225-243.

century are more appropriately discussed in Part III of this thesis which examines the role of the Papacy and the tenth century Reform Movement and also includes a discussion on the relationship between the monasteries and the House of Capua in that century.

On account of the extreme complexity of the political developments in the ninth century, and also to allow for a detailed assessment of aristocratic patronage in its specific political context the discussion in Section A is necessarily chronologically based on four distinct periods: 774-839; 839-850; 850-883 and 883-900.[1]

The role of monasticism in the development of Lombard ethnic identity will also be explored in Section B which looks in detail at 'Points of Contact'. The argument developed in this section will demonstrate that contacts between monks and aristocrats in southern Italy were frequent and concentrated and thus offered greater scope for each group to have a shared cultural and ethnic outlook. It will be shown that monks were particularly influential in the central court; that they were highly regarded as political ambassadors; that they had a role as advisers in courts of law and that many monks came

[1] The discussion in Section A will focus primarily on the monasteries of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and S.Sophia in Benevento. Montecassino will only be brought into the discussion in order to illustrate a specific point. As the abbey of S.Benedict, the founding father of western coenibitism Montecassino had a special place in the Middle Ages. Montecassino's unique prestige in this context, attracted patronage from all over Christendom.

from the aristocratic stratum of society. While this was broadly similar to developments in other regions of Europe there were specific conditions unique to southern Italy which greatly increased the points of contact between the laity and the monks. For example, the internecine struggles and the rise of Arab mercenaries in the 830's forced many monks to seek refuge at the central court.

The role of monasticism as a channel and vehicle for ethnic identity was one of the major underlying reasons for the relative importance of monasticism in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy. However, a more elementary reason was the degree of control that the Lombard princes had over the monasteries and the extent to which that control acted as a bolster to their political rule. In Section C it will be demonstrated that the Lombard princes had immense authority over the monasteries; including the election of abbots and in the organisation of monastic estates. It will be shown that the main reason for maintaining this control was economic. Many of the princes tended to use the monasteries as a primitive 'banking system': for example they raised taxes on monastic property and used the contents of monastic treasuries to finance their wars. In short it will be shown that without this level of control over monasteries the position of individual princes would have been irrevocably weakened.

Finally Section D will demonstrate that monasticism in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy developed along different lines from monasticism in other regions of Europe. In the Carolingian and Byzantine heartlands it was tacitly understood that a ruling élite could hope to extend its control over a particular region by endowing a local monastery. In southern Italy, however, such a premiss simply did not apply. Carolingian and Byzantine patronage of southern Italian monasteries did not help to extend those particular powers' political authority and influence within the Lombard principalites. Moreover, even internally, monasteries could not extend the level of control a Lombard prince had over peripheral gastaldates. In the case of external aggressors, they did not appreciate the depth of Lombard ethnic feeling and in the second case the topography of southern Italy tended to encourage the development of a society which was generally divisive in nature. No amount of monastic patronage, either on the part of foreign rulers or Lombard princes, could change that social and topographical phenomenon.

A. Monastic Patronage and Ethnic Identity

i. 774 - 839 "The Golden Age"

The era between 774 and 839 was marked by a number of events which impinged directly on the development of monasticism and its role in Lombard ethnic identity. The period opened with Arichis II's assumption of the royal

title and the years from then, until the prince's death in 787 have been described as a 'Golden Age' in the history of Lombard southern Italy.[1] This so-called "Golden Age" was followed by some 40 years during which there was increasing frictions within the ranks of the aristocracy which manifested themselves most strikingly through the assassination of two princes: Grimoald IV in 817 and Sicard in 839. It was also a period when prince Sico (817-832) and prince Sicard (832-839) waged continual war against the Neapolitans, and closed with the outbreak of a bloody Civil War(839-849/50) between Radelchis of Benevento and Siconolf of Salerno which resulted in the division of the old Beneventan principality.

The dynamics of the relationship between the monasteries and the Lombard aristocracy during this period illustrates the link between monastic patronage and the need to express ethnic identity. This particular section of the discussion will concentrate on the line of Beneventan princes from Arichis II(774-787) through to the death of Sicard(832-839). This will be followed by an analysis of those documents which pertain to the Lombard aristocracy as distinct from the Lombard princes.

The monk Erchempert in his Historia Langobardorum

[1] H.Belting 'Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert' DOP 16 (1962) pp.143-193. H.Taviani-Carozzi La principauté lombarde de salerne (IXe-XIe siècle). Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale. 2 volumes. (Rome 1991). p.66.

Beneventanorum which was written in Capua during the 890's, referred to Arichis the Lombard ruler of Benevento as christianissimus et valde illustris atque in rebus bellicis strenuissimus, Beneventum ducatum regebat.[1] Erchempert was clearly impressed by what he recognised as the prince's twin virtues: bellicosity in warfare and profound religiosity. The latter quality was expressed primarily through the construction and patronage of ecclesiastical foundations.

In Benevento the new prince founded (or completed the construction of)[2] the convent of S.Sophia which he placed under the jurisdiction of Montecassino after having endowed the house with many possessions, including holy relics. He also founded the convent of S.Salvatore and placed it under the rule of the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno.

The nucleus of the terra of S.Vincenzo consisted of land which had been donated to the monastery by the dukes Gisulph I and Arichis II. It has been calculated that Gisulph's gift to the founders of the monastery, Paldo, Tato and Taso must have been in the region of 300 square kilometres.[3] This original donation was greatly

[1] Erchempert c.6 p.235.
[2] H.Bloch Montecassino in the Middle Ages (Rome 1986) Volume I pp.264-275.

[3] C.Wickham 'The terra of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the 8th-12th centuries: the historical framework' San Vincenzo al Volturno: The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery R.Hodges and J.Mitchell [eds] (Oxford 1985) p.231.

enhanced by Arichis II sometime between 758 and 760 when he conveyed to the monastery seven mountain regions with their respective valleys along the southern edge of the terra.[1] The extent to which Arichis patronised monastic centres is clearly evident from the charters transcribed in the Chronicon S.Sophiae. From the month of November 774 there are no fewer than 24 documents demonstrating the extent of Arichis' patronage of S.Sophia. These donations included the bestowal of fishing rights in Siponto,[2] to the donation of churches,[3] and various estates throughout southern Italy. The exact timing of these donations, clearly indicates that they were associated with Arichis' assumption of the royal title; princeps gentis Langobardorum in 774.[4]

This elevation of the duke necessarily entailed a catalogue of new duties and functions; in particular towards religion and thus towards monasticism. Although the Lombards adopted what Walter Ullmann has described as a "Christocentric political ideology" rather later than the other Germanic tribes, this did not lessen their enthusiastic and active adherence to this ideology.[5]

[1] CV I Doc.12 pp.154.
[2] CSS col.429-430.
[3] Ibid., col. 429-430.
[4] On Arichis' assumption of the royal title and his subsequent relations with Charlemagne see; O.Bertolini, 'Carlomagno e Benevento' in Karl der Grosse (Dusseldorf, 1965) pp.609-71.

[5] W.Ullmann, A History of Political Thought in the Middle Ages (London, 1965).

On one level Arichis's patronage of monasteries in the eighth century was a result of his elevation to the ducal and later the royal throne of Benevento; in this specific context such patronage served not only to give credence to his newly assumed office as duke or prince but was also by that time a perceived duty of those ranks. Erchempert's comments on Arichis' religiosity clearly demonstrate that individual piety, usually expressed through church patronage, was one marker of a good ruler. The prince's attitude towards religion was not, therefore, solely a response to his own personal piety it was central and crucial to his tenure of office.

However, it is the ethnic dimension of the donations which Arichis made in favour of S.Sophia in Benevento which appear most striking. From being Dux Beneventanus Arichis now emerged as Princeps gentis Langobardorum in the body of the documents and each donations was made pro salvatione gentis nostrae, et patriae. These phrases include two characteristics out of the six listed by Anthony smith as essential for establishing ethnic identity: a collective proper name and an association with a specific 'homeland'.[1]

Herbert Bloch has rightly referred to the convent of S.Sophia as "one of the most important monasteries in

[1] In this example the southern Lombards' patriae must have been limited only by the boundaries of the principality of Benevento. For the various documents, see; CSS col.420- onwards.

Southern Italy".[1] He not only recognised that its importance lay in its specific relationship with the Lombard court based on Benvento, but also accepted the arguments, which had been propounded quite emphatically by Hans Belting, and which had in turn described the "national" context of the convent.

Bloch wrote;

> '... by stating in his [Arichis'] diplomas that he had built S.Sophia "pro salvacione gentis nostre et patrie", Arichis indicates the other function of the church as "palace chapel and national church of the principate of the southern Lombards". How important Arichis considered his foundation to be can be seen from the fact that he installed as first abbess his own sister'.[2]

Both Herbert Bloch and Hans Belting, and to a lesser extent Walter Holtzmann, have emphasised the role envisaged for S.Sophia by Arichis, as the "national" church of the Lombards. However the significance of the donation charters of November 774 have by and large been examined outwith their exact context. The scholars mentioned above have seen those charters as being associated firmly with the period following Arichis' assumption of the royal title. However if we are to seek the only valid context for these particular documents

[1] H.Bloch, Montecassino in the Middle Ages. 3 vols. (Rome, 1986) p.264.

[2] H.Bloch op.cit., p.267.

then they must be interpreted as part of Arichis' general patronage of ecclesiastical and specifically monastic houses. Although the S.Sophia documents contained various phrases which related to, and enhanced his newly elevated position as prince, they were in fact the last collective series of donations in a long history of church patronage on the part of Arichis.

For example from November 774 until his death in 787 Arichis issued no further donation charters in favour of any monastery whatsoever although he did issue a confirmation charter in favour of S.Vincenzo al Volturno in 778.[1] (Or at least none have survived). This period of dearth in respect of monastic patronage however was in stark contrast to the period of his rule as Duke of Benevento, that is prior to 774.

We should also note that although he did make many donations to the house of S.Sophia one of his most significant actions in relation to the convent was to place the house under the jurisdiction of Montecassino. An action which was paralleled by his founding of S.Salvatore in Alife which he granted to the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno.

From an early period of his reign Arichis sought to enhance his authority by by linking his rule more closely

[1] CV I Doc.22. pp.192-193.

with the church and with religious symbolism.[1] This was a course of action which began with the translation of the relics of the 'twelve martyrs' from various locations throughout southern Italy and which were deposited in the church of S.Sophia by May 760. The relics of S.Helianus, and S.Mercurius were also deposited in the same church some time prior to 768.[2] It is also pertinent to remember that Arichis' great territorial donation charter issued in favour of the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno was granted sometime between 758 and 760: that is within the first two years of his rule as duke.[3]

It is highly probable that Arichis, in patronising ecclesiastical establishments, was to some extent following a pattern of religious patronage and expression which he had witnessed in, and had brought from Pavia. Since Lombard conversion to catholicism the Royal court in Pavia had been a devout patron of monasticism. They did

[1] In this context Hans Belting commneted "In ihnen tritt uns das Bild eines königlichen Hofes entgegen, der nach dem Muster des langobardischen und des byzantinischen aufgebaut ist und dem Souverän alle Mittel einer Repräsentation verschafft, die seinem Macht-und Freiheitsanspruch überzeugenden Ausdruck verleihen soll". (op.cit., p.267)This whole passage refers to the period prior to Arichis' assumption of the royal title in 774 and clearly the means of representation which would give expression to his power would also include symbols of religious expression. The same scholar also observed that, 'Arichis beginnt schon in den ersten Jahren, einen großen Reliquienschatz zusammenzutragen, der für die Bestrebungen der Unabhängigkeit und die Ausbildung eines nationalen Bewußtseins eine wichtige Rolle Übernehmen sollte'.(p.156)

[2] H.Bloch op.cit., p.268.
[3] CV I Doc. 12. pp.154-155.

so for a number of reasons including: personal piety, the desire to create a place of family sepulture and the need to raise a commemorative structure, their foundations were also seen as part of royal status, although not exclusively so.[1]

Furthermore, despite Erchempert's claims that Arichis founded the convent of S.Sophia,[2] a case can be made which favours the hypothesis that Arichis merely completed the structure, and that the construction of the house was initiated during the reign of Duke Gisolf II (742-751).

This tradition of an early foundation date for S.Sophia had been asserted by Leo of Ostia[3] and was also found in the Annales Beneventani under the year 737.[4] It is clear, therefore, that S.Sophia was not initially founded by Arichis since the convent can be demonstrated to have originated during a previous reign; probably under Gisolf I as indicated in the Annales Beneventani.[5]

However, what is unique and exceptional about

[1] P.Delogu Mito di una città meridionale (Salerno secoli VIII - XI) (Naples 1977) pp.18-19. Paulo Delogu and Walter Weitzman have both cited Paul the Deacon's testimony which indicates that the monastery of S.Peter's in Benevento was founded by Theoderada the wife of Duke Romuald I of Benevento (661-687).

[2] Erchempert c.3 p.236. 'infra Beneventi autem moeniam templum Domino opulentissimum ac decentissimum conditit, quod Greco vocabulo Agian Sophian, id est sanctam sapientiam, nominavit'.

[3] CC c.6 p.30.
[4] Ann Ben p.110.
[5] H.Bloch op.cit., p.267.

Arichis' reign is not that he was involved in church patronage, but the degree to which he was involved in these activities. From his inauguration as duke in 758 Arichis patronised monasteries and amassed holy relics in the duchy's capital at Benevento on a scale resembling royal patronage. It is clear that Arichis was aware of the link between authority and religious symbolism - this was not to deny his piety since, in Ullmann's "Christocentric political ideology" authority and piety were inextricably linked.

However, one of the most significant aspects of Arichis' patronage of monasteries was the way in which such patronage further enhanced southern Lombard ethnic identity. The most potent symbol and expression of this ethnic identity was the elevation of a Beneventan duke to the office of 'Prince of the Lombard race' in 774. Monastic patronage was intimately linked to this office. The link is best seen in Arichis'24 donation charters made in favour of the monastery of S.Sophia in November 774, following his anointment as princeps.

On the evidence of the extant documentation no other southern Lombard prince donated as many gifts to a single monastery in the period 774 to 981. Arichis was obviously concerned to consolidate the powerbase of his new authority including its religious dimension. In short, without monastic patronage there could be no Princeps gentis Langobardorum, and Arichis was acutely aware of

that fact.

Arichis' patronage of the convent of S.Sophia therefore can be seen to have existed on three levels:

i. As a method of ensuring his own personal salvation after death as expressed in the phrase "pro redemtione aeternae vitae" which occurs in every one of the 24 donations made in favour of the convent in November 774.

ii. As the religious focus for a Lombard "national" consciousness which although actively promoted by Arichis since his accession to the duchy of Benevento in 758 was greatly increased after 774.

iii. As a recognised duty which pertained to both ducal and royal authority.

1V. As an expression of southern Lombard ethnic identity in the face of a powerful external aggressor.

All the Lombard princes who succeeded Arichis, from Grimoald III (797-806) to Pandolf I 'Ironhead' (961-981) paid more than close heed to the monasteries and their needs. Although the donations of large tracts of land such as those originally donated to Montecassino and S. Vincenzo diminished, princes continued to patronise monasteries, granting them estates, rights, immunities and protection throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Although the patterns of donations sometimes changed from one monastery to another, and from one abbot to another

at no time did the princes of any of the Lombard principalities entirely ignore the monasteries. Throughout these two centuries the extant documentation available for the three monasteries of Montecassino, S.Vincenzo and S.Sophia in Benevento include no less than 97 documents drawn up under the auspices of the Lombard princes comprising; confirmations, grants of land small estates and immunities.[1] Paradoxically although the Lombard struggles of the ninth century undoubtedly produced a great amount of dislocation and disruption it can also be demonstrated to have emphasised the links between the monasteries and the princes and their maintenance of power. The monasteries were altogether too important to be ignored.

Monasteries were thus unavoidably drawn into the political world of the central Lombard court based on Benevento and, following the Civil War, on Salerno and Capua. The religious ethos of political thought was of course not confined to southern Italy but was prevalent throughout the whole of Christendom. Monasteries consequently had a role to play in the wider field of European politics dominated in the ninth century by the Carolingians, in the tenth by the Ottonians and in the east by the Byzantine Empire.

Grimoald III (787 - 806)

[1] See; CV 3 vols; CSS; Gatt Acc; Gatt Hist.

When Arichis II died in 787 his younger son and heir was at that time held captive by Charlemagne as a bargaining tool in his negotiations with the Beneventan prince. However, through the influence of the young prince's mother, Adelperga and possibly Paul the Deacon who was at that time in attendance at the Frankish court,[1] Grimoald III's release was negotiated although on humiliating terms: those were that Charlemagne's image should appear on Lombard coinage and that his name should also appear in their legal documents.

It was not long before Grimoald III forgot the promises made to Charlemagne and the latter's effigy soon disappeared from the Lombard coinage and his name from Lombard documents. In order to subdue the Lombards to Frankish rule Charlemagne sent his son Pepin into southern Italy on two occasions: 793 and 800. However, the failure of these expeditions merely helped to highlight how precarious the Frankish influence was in the Lombard principality.

Although he ruled for almost twenty years much of Grimoald III's reign is relatively obscure. However, there are three extant charters which pertain to his patronage of Montecassino and one possible charter which was issued in favour of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. There is no evidence to suggest that he favoured S.Sophia. Though

[1] B.M.Kreutz Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries (Philadelphia 1991) p.19.

few in number these charters do illustrate the ethnic dimension to Grimoald's monastic patronage.

Firstly we have one from September of 788 which was executed in the 'sacred' palace at Benevento. This particular document was a 'double' charter in the sense that it was both a donation and a confirmation document. It recorded that Grimoald III granted to the monastery of Montecassino and Abbot Theodemar a wood within his own domain lands in the territory of Casa Genzana. He also confirmed the donations which had already been made to the abbey by his father Arichis, and by Gisolf II at the time of Abbot Petronax. In addition he donated the ports of Traetto and Volturno as well as fishing rights in the city of Lesina.[1]

This charter must be seen in the context of, and as a response to the confirmation charters which had been issued by Charlemagne in favour of Montecassino and S.Vincenzo al Volturno during the previous year. While Charlemagne was in southern Italy in the Spring of 787, and shortly after he had received the submission of Prince Arichis, he issued two charters in favour of Montecassino and S.Vincenzo respectively.[2] These charters confirmed the abbeys' possessions, and included various immunities such as free election of abbots.

However, Grimoald III's charter of 788 was every bit

[1] Gatt Acc p.17.
[2] For S.Vincenzo see; MGH D.Kar. 156. For Montecassino, see; MGH D.Kar. 157.

as defiant in the face of Carolingian authority as removing Charlemagne's image from the coinage and his name from the Lombard documents. it was implicit in the nature of the document, for example, that only a Lombard prince could confirm those donations which had been made in favour of the monastery by previous southern Lombard leaders. This charter directly rebuffed the charters issued by Charlemagne which confirmed all earlier donations. Grimoald II was setting the southern Lombard past and present outwith the parameters of Carolingian rule and authority. In this example monastic patronage was clearly used as a vehicle to express Lombard independence and ethnic identity.

This is the only monastic charter which can be confidently dated to the first years of Grimoald's rule as prince of Benevento. It was some years before we have notice of Grimoald's second monastic charter of 793.[1] The document records that Grimoald III gave to the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno the land of Casa Summi.[2] This document serves as a further important indication of the

[1] There is some doubt, however, as to which prince made this particular donation: that is whether Grimoald III or Grimoald IV. Rene Poupardin accepted without question that the document pertained to Grimoald III and simply registered toe document as having been issued in Benevento during august 793. Vincenzo Federici, on the other hand, is a little more wary and is ill inclined to date the charter specifically to either prince. He left the issue open ended and dated the document to August 793 or 808 and thus to either prince.

[2] CV I Doc. 67. pp.319-320.

prince's use of monastic patronage as a bolster to Lombard independence. For example, as a result of Grimoald's continued defiance of the terms of his release from Frankish captivity in 787, Charlemagne sent his son Pepin to southern Italy to subdue the Lombards.[1] Grimoald III's patronage of S.Vincenzo must therefore, be seen in the context of the threat of external aggresssion which increased the need for the Lombards to emphasise and reinforce their ethnic identity.[2]

In June of 797 Grimoald III at the request of his marepahis confirmed to Abbot Gisolf (794 - 24 December 816/17) and the monastery of Montecassino the property of the servants of the monastery, which had pertained to the servants' families since the time of Gisolf I (689 - 706).[3] This charter forms part of an increasing Beneventan influence in the monasteries and in particular at Montecassino. For example, Abbot Teodemaro, who died in 796, was a Frank, whereas the new abbot, Gisolf, was a Lombard, a Beneventan, and related to the ducal family.[4]

The election of a Lombard abbot must be seen as a reflection of Beneventan politics, which under Grimoald III continually aimed at achieving Lombard independence. Grimoald's patronage of Montecassino at this time must

[1] Ann. Laureshamenses 793 Sr 1 35m.
[2] On the political context of Grimoald III's defiance of the Carolingians see; B.Ruggiero, Potere, istituzioni, chiese locali, (Spoleto, 1991) pp.15-16.

[3] Gatt Acc pp.18-19.
[4] CC c.7 p.57.

also, therefore, be seen in the context of the political, religious and social struggle for southern Lombard independence.[1]

What can be said about Grimoald III's relationship with monasticism? First of all although it is clear that he continued to enhance Lombard ethnic identity and that his relationship with the monasteries was one crucial aspect of this the fact that only four documents (and possibly only three) can be dated to his reign of almost 20 years does not suggest that he was particularly concerned to court the favour of the monasteries outwith that specific context. This was of course in stark contrast to his father who had been particularly concerned to patronise monastic foundations from 758.

Above all it is curious that he did not appear to make any grants in favour of the convent of S.Sophia in Benevento - in this context it should be remembered that close familial ties had been established with S.Sophia since his paternal aunt had been the convent's first abbess. Furthermore, [since] S.Sophia had a specific role in defining and focusing Lombard ethnic identity it is surprising that on the one hand Grimoald III could so stoutly defend the independence of the Beneventan principality and, on the other hand, that he should leave no record which would indicate his protection and patronage of that particular house.

[1] H.Houben Medioevo monastico p.36.

When contrasted with Arichis II's 24 donation charters in favour of S.Sophia and the latter's grants of two huge blocks of terrae to S. Vincenzo and Montecassino respectively Grimoald III's four charters do not appear so significant. However, it should be recalled that apart from one confirmation charter issued by Arichis II to S. Vincenzo that he had made no monastic grants after 774.

This latter fact throws some light on Grimoald's ability to patronise monasteries. For example, Arichis II's donations had been made possible, to a large extent by his confiscation of aristocratic property in the face of insurrection and rebellion. This had been part of the long process of consolidating his own rule; by 774 the majority of the potentially rebellious factions within the nobility had been dealt with by Arichis II thereby allowing Grimoald III little scope for confiscating territory which could then be donated to the monasteries. Moreover, faced with Frankish aggression Grimoald III had to pay more than 'lip service' to his aristocracy.

Indeed the increasing influence of the Lombard aristocracy within the central court can be seen in the documentary evidence. Increasingly leading members of the aristocracy are found as important advisers to the prince. For example in one of the documents transcribed in the Chronicon S.Sophiae we find that in August 793 Grimoald III donated to Grasolphus son of the late Roderissius, the goods which had been confiscated from

the latter on account of his having joined the Greeks. Grimoald III had restored these goods on the advice of his gastald Mallone.[1] It may reasonably be argued therefore that as confiscations declined and the role of the aristocracy in the central court increased the prince's ability to patronise the monasteries significantly declined.

Grimoald IV (806 - 817)

When Grimoald III died in 806 the Beneventan aristocracy elected the court stolesayz, also called Grimoald, as the new prince. From Grimoald IV's reign of 11 years we have only three known charters relating to his patronage of monastic institutions.

The first authenticated document issued in favour of a monastery was registered in January 808. In this document the prince confirmed the monasteries of S.Sophia and S.Euphemia in their possession of servants[2] This particular charter also provides us with further evidence of the influence of the leading men of the realm and the role that they played in the context of monastic patronage. In this document for example we find that the Gastald Zeno had advised the prince to issue this particular confirmation.

In April 810 Grimoald IV donated to the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno his curtis in Cicerana near

[1] CSS col. 459.
[2] CSS col. 447.

Venafro.[1] Once again we find that Grimoald in drawing up this charter had been advised on that course of action by one of the leading members of the court nobility; in this case his referendarius Aodoald. Similarly, during August 810 Grimoald at the request of Duferigast made a confirmation in favour of the the monastery of S.Maria in Cengla and Abbess Aufilende.[2]

As stated above, Grimoald IV ruled for almost eleven years. However, we have very few documents from his reign which could help elucidate his relations with the monasteries. Indeed the paucity of general material on Grimoald IV's period of rule is reflected by a lack of any detailed study of his rule.[3]

As in the case of his predecessor the number of extant charters relating to monastic patronage do not suggest an overt concern on the part of the prince to patronise monasteries. However, as with Grimoald III it appears to have been the case that Grimoald IV had little scope to make many donations to the abbeys, in the face

[1] CV I Doc. 31. pp. 244-245. In this document the exact extent of these lands were included in some considerable detail:
"curtem nostram, quam habemus in finibus territorio Benafrano, cum inclitis terris et montibus uno se tenente, et vocatur terra ipsa Cicerana, per hos fines; prima parte riagine que nominatur Ravennola, unde per tempus aqua decurrit; secunda parte iam dicto fluvio Vulturno; tertia parte via et silice, et quomodo ascendit riagine usque in cilium montis de ipsa curte pertinentes; quarto vero parte terras et montes puplici."

[2] Gatt Acc p.97.
[3] J.Gay op.cit., pp.39-40.

of the increasing power of the aristocracy. All three of the charters cited above for example had been issued after the prince had received advice from members of the Beneventan aristocracy: the gastald Zero, his referendarius Audoald, and one Dauferigast. Nevertheless, it was always in the prince's power to donate a portion of his own property to the monasteries. Although he did this in 810 for S.Vincenzo it was significant that there was no evidence to suggest that Grimoald IV courted the support of monasteries during the first few years of his rule, since his first confirmation was not issued until 808, that was two years after he had assumed the royal authority.

Why should this prince in particular have failed to patronise monasteries? It is surely more than coincidence that Grimoald IV's reign saw no armed external aggressor threaten the independence of the principality of Benevento. The last Frankish ruler to be militarily active in the south was Pepin in 800 - a full six years before Grimoald IV was elected prince. Grimoald IV's reign was characterised by relative stability in Lombard relations with external powers. Indeed, Erchempert claimed that Grimoald made peace with Franks and Neapolitans alike.[1] With no external aggressors to threaten ethnic integrity there was little need to patronise monasteries on a large scale.

[1] Erchempert c.7, p.237.

Sico (817 - 832) and Sicard (832-839)

In 817 Grimoald IV was assassinated by Sico the gastald of Acerenza and Radelchis the gastald of Conza. Erchempert relates that on account of his role in the downfall of Grimoald IV, Radelchis joined the community at Montecassino, although it may be surmised that some political pressure may have been brought to bear on the influential gastald.

With the reign of Sico we are faced with a remarkable decline in the extant evidence of royal patronage of monastic houses. This prince issued no charters whatsoever in favour of S. Vincenzo al Volturno and only one apiece for the monasteries of S.Sophia and Montecassino respectively.

The first document we have notice of was registered in the Chronicon S.Sophiae and dates from August 821 almost four years after Sico's election to the Beneventan throne. The charter itself was issued at the request of Sico's referendarius, Radelchis. This document records that Sico delivered to the monastery of S.Sophia and its abbess Arichisa the right to collect payments on various commodities.[1] This was the first document which mentioned Radelchis, Sico's powerful referendarius who was to continually appear in an influential role in many documents issued under Sico.

The only notice we have of Sico's one other charter

[1] CSS col. 435.

is in the Chronica Monasterii Casinensis which relates that:

> Huic idem Sico princeps fecit preceptum de fluvio, qui dicitur Lauri cum omnibus limitibus et piscariis suis et omnibus, que iuxta ipsum fluvium hinc et inde ad ius sui palatii pertinebant.[1]

Although these were the only two charters which indicated Sico's patronage of monasteries we should be wary of the distinction between 'legal' rights usually expressed through confirmation charters relating to land and the simple presentation of gifts. The latter did not require a formal charter of donation which would register rights of ownership. In this context although we know of no territorial donations or confirmations made by Sico we do know that he made gifts to the abbeys. One thinks in particular about the magnificant jewelled crown which he gifted to the monastery of Montecassino; as related in the Chronica Monasterii Casinensis;

> Ad postremum quando Romam perrexit, venit idem Siconolfus et abstulit coronam auream smaragdinis gemmis mirifice decoratam, que patris sui Siconis principis fuerat, pro solidis tribus milibus[2]

Although it was not stated explicitly in this extract that Sico had actually gifted his crown to Montecassino it would seem extremely unlikely that the monastery should come to possess the crown by any other route.

In contrast to the reign of his father Sicard's period of rule as Princeps Beneventanorum was relatively

[1] CC c.22. p.67
[2] CC c.26. pp.75-76.

rich in donation charters and despite the evidence we have for Sico presenting gifts to Montecassino indicates closer links with the abbeys than had been developed by his father: three in favour of S.Sophia, five for S.Vincenzo al Volturno, but curiously only one for Montecassino and only then towards the end of the reign

in June 837.[1]

There are no extant documents which would indicate aristocratic patronage of the monastery of S. Vincenzo during the reign of Prince Sicard. All surviving documents from this period relate exclusively to royal patronage. Although the level of monastic patronage was

[1] CV I Doc. 56 pp291-292: February 833. Prince Sicard on the advice of his referendarius, Rofrid donated to the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno then under the rule of Abbot Epiphanius the cell of S.Sossius in Liburia and a wood in Pantano. CSS. col. 552: 833 the prince at the request of his kinsman and follower Accon conceded to the monastery of S.Sophia and Abbess Wilerona an estate called Carbonese. CV I Doc 58. pp.293-294: May 833 at the request of Rofrid, Sicard donated to S. Vincenzo lands and mountains in Venafro next to to those which had been conceded by Prince Arichis II. CV I Doc 57. pp.292-293: August 833 Sicard once again following the advice of his referendarius Rofrid confirmed the monastery of S. Vincenzo and Abbot Epiphanius in the ownership of the church of S.Secundinus with all its appurtenances in the area of Acerenza. CSS col.435: April 834 Sicard at the request of Rofrid and of Bassacius, the prior of S.Sophia, granted to the latter monastery and abbess Wilerona lands situated in Liburia. CSS col 436. April 834: Sicard also donated to the same monastery fishing rights in Siponto for the space of 200 paces between the fisheries of S.Maria and the cell of the prince. CSS col. 435-436: March 835 the prince at the request of his treasurer Radelchis and of Bassacius the prior of S.Sophia donated to the monastery rights to fish on the river Longo and of lands in Apulia in the territory of Versano and those which had pertained to Garetrude the widow of the gastald Vicon. CV doc 59. pp.294-296: June 836 Sicard gave to the monastery of S.Vincenzo and abbot Epiphanius the lands the servants and the church of S.Maria in Venafro in the place called Campiniano. Gatt Acc p.35: June 837 Sicard donated to the monastery of Montecassino and to Abbot Autpert(834 - 838) the wood of Martoranum next to the sea and of Fertore (a small river to the north of Monte Gargano) which had formed part of the domains appropriated from the marepahis Arichis. CV I Doc.61. pp.297-302: March of 839 Sicard sat in judgement in the dispute between the monastery of S.Maria in Loco Sano and the Bishop of Benevento over the possession of the baptismal church of S.Felice. The issue was decided in favour of the monastery of S.Maria.

higher than that of his father's reign there were various indications of the growing problems which were beginning to affect the monasteries. For example Louis the Pious' confirmation charter of 831 mentioned the fact that servants of the monastery in the region of Trita had refused to serve the monastery properly.[1]

Aristocratic Patronage 774 - 839[2]

Throughout the entire period under consideration in this present thesis there are 30 documents preserved in the Chronicon Vulturnense which record donations made in favour of the monastery of S.Vincenzo by members of the Lombard aristocracy that is, as distinct from the donations made by the princes. Twenty one of these documents were issued in the years between 782 and 839; that is exactly 70% of all known aristocratic donations to the monastery. There is no doubt that these were issued by a group of individuals who may legitimately be classed as aristocratic.[3] Some of the individuals

[1] CV I doc. 55. pp.289-290.

[2] Many of the charters referred to in this section have been rather cursorily examined in Gennaro Morra, 'La Formazione Del Patrimonio Fondiario Volturnese Nel Territorio Di Venafro' in Una Grande Abbazia Altomedievale Nel Molise. San Vincenzo Al Volturno. (Montecassino, 1985) pp 511-521. As the title of this article suggests these donation charters are examined only in so far as they related to the monastic patrimony in Venafro.

[3] On the nature of the European aristocracy see the collection of essays in, T.Reuter, The Medieval Nobilty (Oxford, 1979). Also; K.Leyser, 'The German Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages' Past and Present 41 (1968) pp.25-53.

concerned held high Lombard official ranks such as the gastald Maio who in January 812 donated three casales to the monastery[1] and the marepahis Peter who made various donations to S.Vincenzo, Montecassino and S.Sophia in 817.[2] All of those who made donations clearly demonstrated their noble status through indicating the extent of their landed wealth. This was dramatically illustrated in 800 when one Radeprandus granted various possessions to S. Vincenzo including property which he owned in Lesina, Siponto, Lucera, Canosa, Benevento, Telese, Vairano and Suessa. However, why were such donations made and why did the bulk of aristocratic patronage fall within this relatively short period?[3]

In almost all of the aristocratic charters issued in this period there are direct references to the religious motives for making donations. All documents contained phrases which referred to this redemptive aspect of monastic patronage: for example, donations were made "pro

[1] CV I Doc 40 pp 257-259. It is of note also that Maio's father also known as Maio had likewise been a gastald. This may be an early indication of hereditary office holding within the nobility.

[2] CV I Doc. 43. pp.263-265.

[3] The fundamental study which includes an important section on why the medieval aristocracy patronised monasteries is C.Bouchard, Sword, Miter and Cloister. the Nobility and the Church in Burgundy 980-1198. (London,1987). J.Wollasch also recognised the important link between monastic growth and the support of the aristocracy, J.Wollasch, Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt (Munich, 1973).

mercede et remedio salutis animarum", "pro redepmcione anime mee" or "pro mercede et salute anime nostro" and many variations of the same central nature. Although these were common place formulae this cannot be said to diminish or deny the fundamental belief behind the phrases. Indeed the fact that such phrases always occured in all monastic charters indicates that salvation was an accepted component of monastic patronage. Indeed the grantor of a particular charter could go as far as naming those individuals with whom he wished to share the religious benefits of patronage. For example in March of 803 one Iohannes of Bari made donations to Montecassino and S.Vincenzo,

> pro ideo cum arduo atque benigno desiderio, et pro salute anime iam nominati genitoris mei, et pro mercede a(nim)e Trasiperge dilecte genitricis mee, et pro remedio anime Pantoni et Radoaldi dilectis germanis meis, et pro anima mea.[1]

Similarly in a charter from 813 one Ausoald son of the late Arecausus, donated his goods to the church of S.Salvatore, a cell of S.Vincenzo, pro remedio anime mee vel parentum.[2]

Religious motives could also be taken to their extreme and the grantor himself could forsake worldly affairs and join the monastic community. And there are documents which illustrate this course of action in the same period, and from the same monastic source. For example, in 802 the gastald Stephen donated all his

[1] CV I Doc. 41. pp.259-261.
[2] CV I Doc. 48. pp.270-271.

goods, both mobile et immobile in Benevento, Capua and Apulia to S. Vincenzo and then, along with his two sons Paldo and Tato, joined the same community.[1]

There were also donations which highlighted the social role of monasticism. In this context is included the propensity of noble families to make provision for members of their family who could not otherwise be accommodated by placing them in monasteries. We find an example of this practice in 799 when a Graffolus dedimus atque offerimus in ecclesia beati Sancti Vincencii filium meum nomone Donasdei.[2]

It can be demonstrated therefore that all of these aristocratic charters had been granted primarily on account of personal piety and social convenience. However, they were clearly not made by members of what may be termed a 'middling rank' aristocracy but by very wealthy individuals indeed. The extent of the personal patrimonies which had been amassed by men such as Radeprand and Imed Tandanco[3] in the eighth and early ninth century indicate extensive landed wealth which had been built up over some considerable time. Why such a concentration of donations should have been made at that particular time can be explained on a number of counts. Firstly the families which emerged in the first two decades of the ninth century as high ranking and wealthy

[1] CV I Doc.47. pp.269-270.
[2] CV I Doc.51. pp.274-275.
[3] CV I Docs 37 and 38. pp.254-256.

aristocrats must be assumed to have been close allies of the central administration and the princes.

Secondly particular leading aristocratic families must have felt relatively secure in relation to land tenure and with regard to the increasing influence that they had within the central court. Thus since they had vast estates, security of land tenure, and power and influence within the central court they could make donations to the monasteries as they wished. This relative stability however was shaken when Grimoald IV was assassinated in 817 by Sico of Acerenza and Radelchis of Conza.[1] It is of no little significance in this context that of the 21 aristocratic donation charters issued between 782 and 839 only one of them had been granted after 817. Monastic patronage was also a mechanism through which individuals could stress their identity. This worked on a number of levels: patronage to any degree reflected piety and piety was a noble characteristic. The extent of the riches contained in a donation also reflected on the donor's wealth and prestige.

Conclusion

In broad terms the aggrandizement of landed wealth by the monasteries fell within the chronological parameters

[1] H.Taviani-Carozzi, La Principauté.....p.54 :- 'L'avènement de Sicon en 817, favorisé par l'assassinat de Grimoald IV inaugure l'ère des dissensions intestines'.

defined by David Herlihy as the highpoint of the growth in monastic terra. That is between 751 and 825 when church property on the continent tripled.[1] However, contrary to the evidence cited by Herlihy this phenomenon owed little to the Carolingians. Indeed monastic patronage in southern Italy had an ancient pedigree: for example, Duke Romuald I's (661-687) wife, Theoderada was responsible for the foundation of the monastery of S.Pietro in Benevento[2] and the construction of S.Sophia was most likely initiated under the direction of Grimoald II. It should also be remembered that the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno was itself founded by three noble Beneventan brothers Paldo, Taso and Tato in 703, and that Montecassino was restored by Petronax of Brescia c.715.

Although the political and social history of the period was complex we can discern quite clearly the role of monasteries in bolstering Lombard ethnic identity when lombard independence was threatened by external aggressors. The general pattern was as follows: in assuming the title princeps gentis Langobardorum Arichis set himself at direct odds with Charlemagne who had recently assumed the title Rex Langobardorum. This situation necessitated the strenghthening of his claim to

[1] D.Herlihy 'Church property on the European Continent 701-1200' Speculum 36 (1961) p.87.

[2] Kehr Italia Pontificia IX p.105. After the Lombard conversion to Catholicism there was a dramatic increase in ecclesiastical patronage.

represent the Lombard gens and it is in this context that he endowed the monastery of S.Sophia in Benevento.

The situation as regards the Franks was little different under Grimoald III. However, by the time of his period of rule the Lombard aristocracy was more settled and less rebellious than it had been during Arichis' early years. There was, therefore, little scope for Grimoald III to acquire new territory within the Beneventan Principality, or for him to patronise monasteries on the same scale as his father. Nonetheless the extant charters which relate to Grimoald III do highlight the ethnic dimension of his patronage.

It was surely more than coincidence that the lack of monastic patronage under Grimoald IV coincides with the most settled period in the history of Lombard southern Italy. For Grimoald IV's long reign between 806 and 817 the Lombard principality was under no threat whatsoever from external aggressors. There was, therefore, no need on the part of the Lombard prince to enhance Lombard prestige and ethnic identity through monastic patronage.

However, how does this hypothesis sit with Sico and Sicard, both of whom waged continual war against the Neapolitans? In this respect one would expect Sico to have made major donations to the monasteries in order to strengthen Lombard identity during the Neapolitan Wars, and yet monastic patronage apparently declined under that Lombard prince. There are three points which must be borne in mind; firstly (as outlined above) the Lombard

aristocracy was well established by 817 and it was therefore difficult for Sico to acquire territory in the principality; secondly, as the head of a new dynasty , which had come to power through assassinating the previous prince, Sico must have been overly concerned to retain the support of the aristocracy;[1] thirdly, although he did not donate territory he did endow monasteries with moveable gifts. The fact that Sico appears not to have patronised monasteries on the scale of Arichis and indeed, Grimoald III, is less to do with ethnic identity and more to do with the power of the Lombard aristocracy relative to the prince.

The need to bolster ethnic identity through monasticism remained, and came to the fore once again under Sicard. By the time of Sicard's rule more land became available for the prince, particularly through confiscations as more nobles became disaffected with his rule and rebelled.[2] The wars with Naples were still ongoing and thus monastic patronage once again increased.

There was a difference in the timing of princely and aristocratic donations. The princes tended to make donations during the most politically insecure period of

[1] This undoubtedly explains to some extent the reasons for his wars with Naples. That is, he had to reward his followers and to placate the Lombard aristocracy generally. In the precarious first few years of his reign the only way he could do this was by giving his aristocray a chance to win booty in a war with an external power.

[2] CS c.68-69. for the revolt led by the noble Alphanus.

their rules; that is, when their independence was directly threatened by a foreign power. Aristocrats tended to make donations during periods of relative peace. Nonetheless these latter donations were made as Lombard aristocrats, secure in land tenure, in political independence from external threats. All of their donation charters, for example were dated according to the regnal years of the Lombard princes. These donations were made within the Lombard cultural ethos.

ii) The Lombard Civil War of 839 - 849/50

The Lombard Civil War between Radelchis of Benevento and Siconolf of Salerno was one of the most significant episodes in the history of Lombard southern Italy. The war gave rise to a number of developments which changed the face of southern Italy for over a century. Directly it resulted in the division of the territory into two principalities: Benevento and Salerno respectively. The warring Lombard factions also actively sought support from Arab mercenaries and through this practice encouraged the settlement of Muslim war bands in the south. It was this 'policy' which resulted, in the long run, in the sack of Montecassino and S.Vincenzo al Volturno in the latter half of the century. With the Beneventan and Salernitan factions locked in conflict the sons of the gastald Landolf of Capua were free to extend and consolidate their control of the lands lying along the Upper Volturno valley.[1] It was this territorial power base which in the long term enabled Landolf's great-grandson, Atenolf I of Capua to acquire the crown of Benevento in 900.

The course of the Civil War was complicated and a brief narrative of events is necessary before assessing how the war affected relations between monasticism and

[1] N.Cilento, Le origini della signoria capuana nella longobardia minore (Roma, 1966) pp.81-113.

the aristocracy. This will be followed by an analysis of the extant royal and lay charters which are recorded in South Italian monastic cartularies.

Background

Following the murder of Prince Sicard in 839 his treasurer Radelchis was elected as the new prince of Benevento. Various factions within the Beneventan aristocracy however were disaffected by Sicard's murder and with Radelchis's election. They freed Sicard's brother, Siconolf from prison in Taranto[1] and established themselves in Salerno where the nobility of that town joined the Beneventan exiles in their opposition to Prince Radelchis. The Salernitan faction were also joined by the powerful gastalds of Conza and Acerenza as well as the potent Landolf of Capua.

The first battle was soon engaged and Radelchis and his troops were decisively beaten in 840.[2] About the time of Radelchis's defeat his subject the gastald Pando of Bari employed the assistance of a group of Saracen auxiliaries under the leadership of one Khalfun[3] whom the author of the Chronica Sancti Benedicti mistakenly referred to as rex.[4] It is of no little significance

[1] Siconolf had been imprisoned by Sicard possibly as a precaution against the former's rebellion.

[2] J.Gay op.cit., p.51.

[3] For the spelling of Arab names I have adopted the Italian form based on G.Musca, L'emirato di Bari 847-871 (Bari,1978).

[4] CSB c.5. pp.471-472.

that Erchempert informs us that Pando was simply obeying Radelchis's command by employing the Saracens.[1] Khalfun however soon killed Pando thereby forcing Radelchis to come to terms with the Saracen forces in Bari.

Siconolf himself also employed the services of a Saracen war party which was under the command of one Apolaffar.[2] The Lombard forces each with their respective Saracen mercenaries met in full battle at Furculas Cardinas where Radelchis' forces were defeated. The extent of the bloody nature of the conflict was made clear by Erchempert who related that after the victory Siconolf put several of the Beneventans to the sword.[3]

Following his success at Furculus Cardinas Siconolf argued with Apolaffar and the latter joined the service of Radelchis in Benevento.[4] When Benevento was besieged by the Lombards of Salerno, Capua and Spoleto it was the Saracen mercenaries under Apolaffar who defended the town with the greatest vigour. Nevertheless Radelchis was suspicious of the power which Apolaffar was building up and he betrayed the Saracen.

One Saracen however was soon replaced by another and a new Arab leader by the name of Massar soon appeared in Radelchis' service. Massar did not remain in Benevento however but proceeded to pillage the territory to the north west of Benevento and along the valley of the

[1] Erchempert c.16. p.241.
[2] Erchempert c.17. p.241.
[3] Erchempert c.17. p.241.
[4] CS c.81. pp.79-81.

Volturno. During one of his raids he seized the town of Telese.[1] The war bands of Massar which menaced the entire Lombard territories were soon joined by other bands of Saracen mercenaries.

In 846 the Arabs eventually reached the mouth of the Tiber, and from there they raided upstream pillaging the basilica of S.Peter's itself. This attack on Rome was a decisive factor in mobilising northern forces against the Arabs of Southern Italy. It was this Arab attack on Rome which provoked the direct intervention of Lothar in the affairs of Italy.[2]

Prior to the attack however Prince Siconolf himself had addressed an appeal to the Franks. It appears from the narrative sources that this appeal followed on from Siconolf's quarrel with Apolaffar. Siconolf turned first to Duke Guy of Spoleto who advised him to go to Rome and seek the support of King Louis II.[3] A notice of Siconolf's visit to Rome also appears in the Liber

[1] CSB c.7. p.473.
[2] LP Vita Leonis IV. II. p.117. Iohannis Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanum. MGH S.r.l. pp.432-433.

[3] Erchempert c.18. p.241.

Pontificalis in the Vita of Sergius II.[1]

Despite this visit Siconolf failed to enlist the support of a Frankish army against his rival Radelchis and the Civil War continued unabated.

It was, as many scholars have claimed and as indicated above, the Arab attack on S.Peter's which eventually persuaded Lothar to become embroiled in south Italian affairs. Lothar placed his son Louis at the head of a large army which met at Pavia in 847 before heading south. Unfortunately the details of Louis' campaign are unknown although we do know that when he arrived at Benevento the leading Muslims who had been imprisoned, including Massar were decapitated.[2] Under the auspices of King Louis the two protagonists in the Civil War, Radelchis and Siconolf agreed to the partition of the principality and signed a peace treaty in 849/50.

After the division of the principality Louis returned to Rome and the imperial crown which he received

[1] LP II p.90.
Per idem tempus, cum rex ipse Hludowicus Rome degeret, Siconolfus, Beneventanorum princeps, magno cum exercitu Romam venit. Quem cum praedictus rex honorifice suscepisset, omnia pro quibus venerat ipsi indicavit. Cui rex gratanti animo quidquid quesierat tribuit atque concessit. Et cum simul Franci, Langobardi atque Beneventani congregati fuissent, facta est ingens populi multitudo, ita ut ex omni parte Roma circumdata videretur. Quorum amplitudinem omnia sata deleta sunt. Ipse vero Siconolfus ardenti pectore praecipuum desiderabat videre pontificem et ab eo benedictionem accipere. Quem praesul cum suscepisset, solo prostatus, pretiosos ipsius pedes humiliter osculavit; et ab eo benedictione suscepta ab eius conspectu alacriter, Deo gratias referens, regressus est.

[2] Erchempert c.19 pp.241-242. CSB c.12 pp.474-475.

from the hands of Pope Leo IV. Although the partition treaty only mentioned the towns which pertained to Salerno, by employing evidence gleaned from other sources the towns which were retained by Benevento can be safely surmised. These break down as follows:

Salerno	Benevento
Taranto	Brindisi
Cassano	Bari
Cosenza	Canosa
Laino	Lucera
Salerno	Siponto
Conza	Ascoli
Sarno	Bovino
Cimitile	Sant'Agata
Capua	Avellino
Teano	Telese
	Alife
	Isernia
	Bojano
	Larino
	Biferno
	Campobasso

Since much of the land that was occupied by the Salernitan faction included the important maritime sites some historians have remarked that 849 signalled the end of Benevento as a south Italian power and that thereafter the princes of Salerno, and the counts of Capua were to

play the major role in southern Italian political development. Although the towns of Brindisi and Bari were nominally under the control of Benevento they were still in Arab hands. Bari, for example, the base of an Arab emirate between 847 and 871.[1]

Monastic Patronage During the Civil War

The Civil War ushered in a slow decline in the fortunes of the monasteries. However the struggle was internecine and, despite a dislocating and destructive involvement of Arabs, the Lombard gens was not under threat from an external aggressor. Lombard independence was secure - it was an internal power struggle. There was, therefore, no need to find an outlet for expressions of ethnic identity. When one examines the evidence for monastic patronage this indeed seems to be the case.

For the entire period of the Civil War which raged between the princes Radelchis and Siconolf we have notice of only three documents demonstrating their relationship with the monasteries of S.Sophia and S.Vincenzo al Volturno. What can they tell us about the civil war?

On the 7 July 840 Radelchis at the request of the count Nantarius and Antonius prior of S.Sophia gave to the monastery various lands and slaves.[2]

Thereafter during October 841 Radelchis I at the request of Venerabilis Ioannis Abbatis nostri gave to

[1] G.Musca L'emirato di bari 847-871. (Bari, 1978).
[2] CSS col.453-454.

the monastery of S.Sophia and Abbess Wilerona land of the palace situated in Bubato in the territory of Siponto.[1] These documents tell us very little about the dynamics of aristocratic patronage in this period.

However, there is one document among those preserved in the Chronicon Vulturnense which allows us an insight into one way in which the Lombard princes could benefit from friendly relations with the monasteries. In November 849 Siconolf received from Abbot Iacobus of S.Vincenzo the goods which the monastery possessed in the locality of Tusciano near Salerno in return for his property in Ponte Lapideum.[2] In Vincenzo Federici's edition of the chronicle he has erroneously called Siconolf prince of Benevento. However this exchange of property makes little sense if it had occurred prior to the division of the territory into the new principalities of Benevento and Salerno. Before Louis arrived in the south in 847 there had been no reason for Siconolf to have considered exchanging lands with the monastery of S.Vincenzo since there was no indication that his opponent Radelchis would receive half of the old principality of Benevento. Indeed from the military standpoint Siconolf was in a much more secure position than Radelchis. That Siconolf would wish to consolidate and increase the territories under his direct control in the Salernitan region makes sense only after the Divisio

[1] CSS col.437.
[2] CV I Doc.66. pp.316-318.

treaty of 849 when Siconolf's power base was definitely and securely based on Salerno.

There were also three aristocratic donations made during the civil war in favour of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. The first dates from March 845 and was drawn up in Salerno and thus within the sphere of influence of Prince Siconolf. In this particular charter the marepahis Gripertus himself the son of the deceased gastald Vualpertus donated to the monastery a part of the curtis of Patria, a portion of his curtis in Atella, a portion of of his curtis of Matalonis and a portion of his curtis in Ausenti, and of monte Candidi and a portion of his goods which he held in Fontana Romana. As with all documents Gripertus was making the donation pro mea anima although it is also explained that dum me in valida essem infirmitate, unde et me ad mortis periculum tendere previdi. These lands lay near Benevento and it would appear that Gripertus had belonged to the Beneventan aristocracy. With this in mind it may be surmised that he probably joined the disaffected Beneventan nobility who supported Siconolf in 839.

In 847 in the castello S.Angelus in Arcu Meta one Acefrid, son of the late Aldefrid donated to the monastery all his goods in Terenciano in Lucera and joined the community himself, ostensibly on account of religious motives. The charter records that Acefrid made the donation;

pro redempcione anime mee offero personam meam et omnes res substancie mee[1]

There is no reason to doubt the veracity of the above statement since a genuine religious piety can never be ruled out when considering the cause of making donations and grants to monasteries.

In March 849 we have the first document which indicates the early links between, elements of the Capuan family, sons of the late marepahis Landolf and the monastery of S.Vincenzo. In this case his son Pando who also held the office of marepahis, donated to the monastery his territory in the locality of Cancias in the vicinity of Ortello which was known as Adauzonale Again we find the proviso pro remedio anime mee.[2]

The one thing that should be said about all of these donations is that it was surprising indeed that any donations were made at all considering a civil war had been raging since 839 and that consequently the desire for security of tenure was increased. Although members of the laity no doubt still wished for prayers to be said for their souls and the souls of their families it is hard to accept that they would willingly dispossess themselves and their heirs of landed property. Having said that however it should be borne in mind that Acefrid's donation of all his property and then joining the community himself were actions which suggest a

[1] CV I Doc.62. p.307.
[2] CV I Doc.65. pp.313-315.

sincere devotional wish to patronise monasteries. We are thus left with only two aristocratic donations which does not suggest a heavy preponderance of aristocratic monastic patronage. Moreover in one of these we know that the grantor was terminally ill.[1] Nevertheless, these two charters are remarkable testaments to the strength of the attraction that monasticism still held for some elements of the Lombard aristocracy even in times of acute social and political dislocation and instability.

Treaty of 849/50

The treaty of 849/50, the so called Divisio under which Radelchis and Siconolf agreed on the split of the old Beneventan principality allows a significant insight into the monastic world during the Civil War. Clauses 4 and 5 of the treaty are of major significance and are worth quoting in full:

Clause 4

> Omnium rerum sanctorum ecclesiarum, episcopatum videlicet vel monasteriorum sub regula degentium seu sinodochiorum, ibi census rationes reddantur de suis singulis substantiis, ubi capita sunt earum: praeter monasteria sancti benedicti et sancti vincentii, quae sub defensione domni imeratoris lotharii eiusque filii domni ludovici regis sunt. Ut singulae ecclesiae suum primatum habeant integrum, sicut semper habuerunt in omni loco quemadmodum decet causam dei: exceptis canonicis abbatiis quae ad palatium pertinent; nam abbatiarum res, quae ad palatium pertinent, in cuius divisione ipsae res

[1] C.Bouchard noted that periods of crisis such as infirmity, and illness could inspire monastic patronage; Sword,Miter and Cloister...p.239

venerint, ille eas habeat, in cuius fuerit parte.

Clause 5

Et omnes monachi et monachae redeant in sua monasteria ubi prius habitauerunt et militent ibi deo sub magisterio illic praeordinatorum, sicut ratio et consuetudo est: exceptis illis, qui per virtutem aliorum illic introierunt aut in palatio seruiunt.[1]

These two clauses were both a comment on the contemporary scene and also a pointer to the future. The monasteries of S.Vincenzo and Montecassino were thenceforward deemed to fall under the special protection of the Carolingians and the empire. This was probably simply a recognition of conditions as they already existed. What was more interesting was that all other monasteries were placed under the protection of the Lombard princes. This carried with it inherent anomalies which would never be fully resolved. Since most monasteries and convents in Lombard southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries were dependencies of either S.Vincenzo or Montecassino then the treaty gave rise to potential difficulties should a daughter house which was under the protection of the Lombard princes disagree with the mother monastery. An illustrative case would be the monastery of S.Sophia in Benevento when in the late ninth century the prince Radelchis returned property to the convent which had been taken from the latter by the community of Montecassino and given to the Neapolitans.[2]

Clause 5 permits an insight into the degree of

[1] MGH Edict.cet. pp.195-196.
[2] CSS col.437.

dislocation experienced by the monasteries in the early ninth century as it is stated that the monks can return to their monasteries. From this emphatic statement it appears that many of them must have sought refuge with either of the Lombard factions which were based in Benevento and Salerno. The proviso that they were to return except those who were of use to the palace indicates the degree to which the princes valued the skills of the monastic community.

There is a document preserved at the monastery of La Cava and printed in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis which must surely appertain to monks and abbots who had sought refuge at the court of Radelchis in 840.[1] In this document Prince Radelchis at the request of Abbot Maio granted to Abbot Ragenaldo and Scildusa his sister all the goods of Lambaiar which had been confiscated due to the crimes of the latter.[2] This was executed in the palace at Benevento. Presumably the Abbots also stayed within or near the palace complex. Despite extensive searches it has not yet been established who these abbots were or which monasteries they ruled.

[1] The monastery of La Cava was not founded until c.1020 and thus does not fall within the chronological boundaries of this thesis. However, during the eleventh century La Cava acquired many older monasteries and churches in the area of Salerno, together with their respective archives. Many of the documents thus acquired are now printed in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis volumes I and II.

[2] CDC I Doc. 19. pp.20-21.

Conclusion

Although the Civil War of 839 - 849 resulted in dislocation and instability it also encouraged closer links between the aristocracy and the monasteries. These links however were not expressed through an increase in donation charters or gifts. However, the extant charters do help to elucidate the most salient point of aristocratic/monastic relations in this period. For example we can detect a growing influence of monastic personalities within the central court. It was known from clause five of the Divisio treaty of 849 that monks had sought refuge at the central court and that their presence was discernible from the early years of the war. For example in two of the charters referred to above and which relate to Prince Radelchis three of the protagonists were Abbot Maio, Abbot Ragenaldus and Abbot Iohannes respectively. Their respective monasteries are unknown but clearly these abbots were of sufficient political importance to have an influential role in the central court.

iii) Decline and Fall: 850-883

Between 849/50 and 881/883 very few donations on the part of either the Lombard princes or the aristocracy were issued in favour of south Italian monasteries. Throughout Europe of course the second half of the ninth century was an era which was characterised by a general decline in monastic fortunes. F.Lemarignier, for example, has refered to 'une crise du monachisme' which, he argued was a result of the Norman invasions and an increase in lay abbacies.[1] However, this monastic crisis in Northern Europe did not become evident until the period 877 - 936. Thus, although broad parallels can be drawn between the effects of the Arab raids in southern Italy and the Normans in the north the southern 'monastic crisis' pre-dated the northern by about forty years. The period of the Civil War had introduced Arab war bands under the respective leadership of Apolaffar and Massar. The period after 850 was marked by the rise of a new and energetic Arab leader: Sawdan. However, as with the Civil War, although this was a violent age Lombard independence was not threatened by external aggressors. One would not, therefore, expect to find an increase in monastic patronage. This is indeed the case.

There has been much debate by historians over the

[1] J.F.Lemarignier, 'Encadrement religieux des campagnes et conjoncture politique dans les régions du royaume de France situées au nord de la Loire, de Charles le chauve aux derniers Carolingiens (840-987)' SSCI 28 (1982) pp.786 and 789.

level of dislocation experienced in the latter half of the ninth century and over the causes of the dislocation.[1] The Arabs for example have been blamed to varying degrees as the prime factor in determining the extent of the decline which set in after the end of the civil war. Certainly the extant charters that are available for the monasteries of S.Vincenzo and the convent of S.Sophia suggest that the situation had changed dramatically since the first decades of the century. Over this entire period we have noticeably fewer documents relating to monastic patronage on either the part of the princes or of the Lombard aristocracy.

However, let us turn first of all to the monastery of S.Vincenzo. In April 858 the Prince Ademarius of Salerno donated to the monastery and Abbot Iohannes the goods which pertained to the monastery in the town of Salerno, as well as part of his own goods situated in the same town. These included de casis et de curte, et ecclesia atque edificiis. The context of this document, however, is not at all clear.[2]

In August 861 Prince Adelchis II of Benevento made a donation to the monastery the exact details of which are unknown because the only reference we have to its existence is to be found in the context of a later

[1] See, G.Musca, op.cit. Also, N.Cilento, 'I saraceni nell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X' ASPN pp.109-122.

[2] CV I doc.68. pp.320-321.

charter of the prince dated to 878.[1]

In this latter charter Prince Adelchis II at the request of the deacon Adelchis and the priest Magelfridus missus of Abbot Maio confirmed in favour of the monastery the donations which had been made at the time of Abbot Iohannes, and conceded more per rogum Audoaldi comitis cognati nostri.[2]

The one private donation was recorded in August 874 when Galcisius of Capua, son of the late Eponius offered to the monastery his court of Fauciano in the vicinity of Monte Marsico next to the church of S.Maria. One significant factor about this particular charter is the fact that it was dated according to the imperial regnal year. The full arenga is as follows:

> In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. Ludovico divina ordinante providencia imperatore augusto, anno imperii eius in Christi nomine vicesimoquinto, mense augusto, septima indiccione.[3]

This was dated according to the imperial regnal year because the old empress Engelberga was still in Capua at the time. She had not returned north with Louis after he had departed in 873/4

In the case of S.Sophia the convent had to wait some thirty years before it was once again to be the recipient of Lombard princely patronage. In February 876 Adelchis II at the request of his wife Ageltrude granted to the prior and doctor various lands of the monastery of

[1] R.Poupardin op.cit.,p 84.
[2] CV II Doc. 78. pp.18-20.
[3] CV I Doc 73. pp.340-341.

S.Benedict in Cepaloni which had pertained to the marepahis Gaucon.[1]

The situation had clearly changed dramatically since the first two decades of the ninth century when aristocratic patronage was much to the fore particularly in the case of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. The effects of the war between Salerno and Benevento cannot be stressed too heavily. The Arab problem had not been eradicated and the tensions within the Lombard aristocracy had not ceased with the Divisio of 849/50. The Arabs were brought into Lombard politics by the Lombard princes and the aristocracy and this in turn as we have seen affected the monks and the monasteries directly, which in turn changed aristocratic attitudes towards monastic patronage.

Although Massar had been executed in 846 the Arabs had continued to infiltrate Southern Italy. Between 846 and 866 they continued to extend their control over great swathes of Lombard territory in the south. Much of Apulia remained occupied by the Saracens who firmly controlled the area between Taranto and Bari. In Bari itself a new Arab leader, Sawdan, was to have a dramatic effect on the Lombard aristocracy and monasteries alike.

Erchempert has painted a depressing picture of the Saracen menace in the 850's in southern Italy. He tell us that:

> Per idem tempus Agareni Varim incolentes coeperunt devastantes stirpitus depredare totam Apuliam

[1] CSS col.455-456.

> Calabriamque ac pedetentim Salernum ac Beneventum depopulare initiarunt.[1]

The destruction caused by these forces which were led by the Sawdan of Bari were so intense that the abbots of Montecassino and S.Vincenzo appealed to the Emperor for help in 852. Presumably recalling the clause of the Divisio treaty which placed their respective communities under imperial protection.[2] As Erchempert noted:

> Tunc interum sugestum est lamentabili supplicatione iam saepe dicto piissimo augusto per Bassacium venerabilem virum, beati Benedicti vicarium, et per Iacobum, Sancti Vincentii abbatem, ut properare quantocius dignaretur et suo adventu eriperet, quos ante iam misericorditer redemerat.[3]

Although the degree of devastation and depopulation suggested by Erchempert may have been a little exaggerated these raids must have caused some considerable dislocation and have engendered a great deal of fear on the part of many Lombards.

An army was dispatched under Louis II and Bari was besieged. However, this force was defeated and the forces of Sawdan continued to devastate the countryside. A second Frankish army appeared in the south about 858 but it was also defeated by the Saracen troops. Sawdan's activities rapidly escalated after this victory. Erchempert once again provided a graphic description of the condition of the territory around Benevento at this time:

[1] Erchempert c.20. p.242.
[2] H.Houben Medioevo monastico meridionale (Naples 1987) p.37.
[3] Erchempert c.20. p.242.

> Inter haec Saugdan nequissimus ac sceleratissimus rex Hismahelitum totam terram Beneventanam igne, gladiis et captivitate crudeliter devastabat, ita ut non remaneret in ea alitus.[1]

These conditions had a number of direct effects on the monasteries and the aristocracy. Firstly, it made it difficult for monasteries to exploit their resources or indeed to manage their vast estates to any satisfactory degree. For example much of the territory which belonged to S.Vincenzo lay in areas which were continually ravaged by the Saracens under Sawdan. Furthermore, the Lombard aristocracy were more concerned with consolidating their control over the territories they possessed in the face of Arab aggression rather than patronising monasteries.

It was in this same period when the Lombard aristocracy were feeling the effects of the Arab presence acutely that Sawdan also sacked the monastery of S.Modesto of Benevento. Hubert Houben in an informed article has made a thorough study of the necrology of S.Modesto which is preserved in the abbey of Reichenau. In this article Houben argues that the existence of this necrology demonstrates a link between southern Italy and the abbey of Reichenau in the ninth century which Houben believes was channelled through some members of the Frankish forces who were in southern Italy with Louis II in the 870's. The necrology preserved at Reichenau is the only notice that we have of the attack on S.Modesto and it also serves to show just how fierce and savage an

[1] Erchempert c.29. p.245.

Arab raid could be. Houben has surmised that the attack took place sometime between 857 and 862 and that the monastery was set on fire, one monk, Heribrant was decapitated and another, Meginhartus, survived. All the other monks however were killed by the Arabs.[1]

Despite such obvious destruction some active construction and development did take place such as the chapel in honour of S.Benedict which was built within the convent S.Sophia by Abbot Bertharius of Montecassino in 867 and consecrated by Stephen the bishop of Teano.[2]

Nevertheless, despite the evidence cited by Leo of Ostia the period was characterised by instability, dislocation, and monastic decline. The evidence for the depopulation and devastation which is referred to time and again in the pages of Erchempert was always mentioned in the same context as the Saracens. Even allowing for a degree of exaggeration it was undoubtedly the case that Arab aggression and the fear of marauding war bands had a profound effect on southern Lombard society.

Sawdan for example occupied Venafro and pillaged the Volturno valley devastating Capua and Teano. The monasteries of S.Vincenzo and Montecassino came under direct threat and both had to buy off the Arabs in order

[1] H.Houben op.cit.,pp.61-62.

[2] CC c.36. p.100.Ibi itaque cum in eius obsequio abbas Bertharius moraretur, oratorium parvum, quod intra monasterium sancte Sophie predecessor suus abbas Bassacius inchoaverat, omni diligentia percomplevit et in honorem sancti patri Benedicti a Stephano Teanensis ecclesie presule consecrari fecit.

to prevent them looting the monasteries.[1]

In reality the Lombards were unable to protect the monasteries or indeed their own political position. This was also recognised by contemporaries. For example, while the empress Engelberga was staying in Benevento she managed to rouse local hatred against herself and her entourage because she had pointed out to the Beneventans that they were unable to protect themselves. Although the Lombards found the statement hard to take the empress was not far from the truth in her assessment. This was primarily due to the continual frictions within Lombard society. The division of the principality in 849 rather than solving the problems of internecine warfare actually achieved little more than encouraging the Lombard territories to fracture into a multitude of independent lordships, inspired by local rivalries.[2] It had been this factor, as Erchempert himself realised in the late ninth century, which allowed the Saracens to run wild over the whole of southern Italy facing little effective opposition.

It must also be remembered that these rivalries and internecine struggles created their own dislocations, instabilities and insecurities within Lombard society. As

[1] Erchempert c.29. p.245.Quibus diebus et castrum Benafranum cepit et coenobium sancti Vincentii martiris depredavit et pro hedificis non combustis tres milia aureos accepit. Hoc facto, et a vicario beati Benedicti totidem nummos accepit.

[2] J.Gay op.cit., p.68.

in any period the control of land was crucial and thus it is not entirely unexpected to find that very few donations were made at this time. All the small towns in Campania at different times were in turn besieged: Suessula, Caserta and Caiazzo for example.[1]

It was clear that the devastation wrought by the Arabs had been quite extensive. Evidence for depopulation is found throughout the sources: for example the Translatio S.Ianuarii et Sociorum eius [2] which tells the story of a young soldier in the company of Louis II in 871 who found the relics of S.Ianuarius[3] in a deserted church which he then translated to the abbey of Reichenau. Although it is known that Lothar I had given the relics of S.Januarius to to the abbey of Reichenau in 838 and that this tale was therefore probably apocryphal it is significant in so far as the image of a deserted church is one that would fit well with a narrative tale associated with Southern Italy in the latter half of the ninth century. That is to say that the image of an abandoned church in southern Italy in the latter half of the ninth century was an image that was not deemed to be out of place but would be accepted as far from out the ordinary. Rural churches and monasteries must have suffered greatly between the years 839 and 881/883. They had been sacked and plundered.

[1] J.Gay op.cit., p.69.
[2] MGH SS XV/1 p.472.
[3] S.Ianuarius was patron saint of Naples.

We know of the deprivations which affected the great monasteries of Montecassino and S.Vincenzo precisely because they were so important and because the the vast bulk of extant sources, both narrative chronicles and charters relate primarily to these two houses. We know very little about the countless smaller monasteries and ecclesiastical buildings which may have suffered under the ravages of the Saracens. It would be inconceivable to suggest however that the attacks on S.Maria de Cengla or S.Modesto were isolated cases or that the relative riches possessed by the smaller houses, such as liturgical vessels, would have been ignored and left untouched by the Arab bands.

The death of Louis in 875 brought to an end active Carolingian involvement in Southern Italian affairs and allowed the Arabs free hand to ravage the countryside. Arabs were now well established in the interior of Lombard Southern Italy and their aggressive tendencies which had troubled the monasteries since the war of 839-849 came to a climax with the sack of these two abbeys in the years 881 and 883 respectively. A Saracen group which had established its base at Sepino and had set fire to Isernia and Boiano destroyed S.Vincenzo in 881. This was followed two years later by a similar attack on Montecassino by a combination of the Arab bands of Sepino together with those of the Garigliano; during this

assault Abbot Bertharius was killed.[1]

In many ways the sack of these monasteries was simply the coup de grâce for a monastic decline had set in many years prior to the 880's. Evidence for this decline has been unearthed during successive excavation seasons at the site of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. Richard Hodges has observed that with the changes which were instituted in the monastic complex by Abbot Epiphanius(824-842) the great period of S.Vincenzo was at an end.[2]

Among the documents transcribed in the Chronicon Vulturnense there are two which give an indication of the deeper problems which were underlying the whole fabric of the social ethos of Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries. These concern the difficulties that the monastery experienced in attempting to exact the services which were due to the abbey by its tenants. In February of 854 the gastald Fransidus sat in judgement during a court case which was held in Trite curte between the prior of the cell of Trita and some men of Offena, serfs of the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno, confirmed as such through the status of their parents who were obliged through service to serve the monastery.[3]

In January 872 Viscount Adroald, missus to Louis II, travelled to S.Giovenale and adjudged in favour of the

[1] CC c.4.
[2] R.Hodges etc pp.424-425
[3] CV I Doc 72. pp.337-340.

monastery of S.Vincenzo over the possession of goods in Trita which had been taken from the monastery by rebellious contadini. Again he had to re-affirm the monastery's control over the valley of the Trita.[1]

Conclusion

The relations between the monasteries and the Lombard aristocracy were strained following the civil war of 839-849/50. The monasteries had been raided and contemporaries, particularly within the monastic context blamed the Lombard aristocracy for encouraging the settlement of Arabs in the central regions of the Lombard principalities of Southern Italy. However the lack of donation charters may also indicate that all the land which could be donated to the monasteries without weakening individual Lombard families had been donated, and from c.850 on the Lombard aristocracy jealously guarded any rights to the land that they held.

[1] CV I pp.329-33.

iv) The Destruction of the Monasteries Until 900

The last decades of the ninth century witnessed a number of major developments in south Italy. Of principal significance of course was the final collapse of the Lombard dynasty based on Benevento and the assumption of the royal title by the Capuan ruling family, whose interests were best represented by Atenolf I. This was also the period which witnessed the resurgence of Byzantine power in the south. There are no extant charters issued by members of the rising Capuan House or the House of Salerno for either S.Vincenzo or S.Sophia and thus the period up to 900, when viewed from a purely Beneventan perspective, forms a logical homogeneous period for study. This section will demonstrate the clear link between monastic patronage and the expressing of Lombard ethnic identity. It will be evident, for example, that as Lombard independence was increasingly threatened in face of the dramatic resurgence of Byzantine power Lombard monastic patronage increased correspondingly.

The events during this era in the history of Lombard southern Italy had striking familiarities and parallels with the turmoils of the civil war of 839 - 849. The region once again was ravaged by a series of destructive and bloody internecine struggles within the three Lombard power bases of Benevento, Salerno and Capua. The complex political history of the 880's and the 890's was marked by a rise in the number of warring

Lombard factions. This was a period of adjustment between the cessation of Carolingian involvement in the affairs of the south and the assumption of power by Atenolf I of Capua in 900 which gave the region a relative stability which was maintained until the death of Pandolf I 'Ironhead' in 981. There were three main reasons for Lombard dislocation: Benevento was continually troubled by palace revolutions and aristocratic revolts throughout the entire period; Capua was rent by a struggle for overall power between the two brothers Landenolf and Atenolf; and the Byzantine Empire, under the rule of Basil the Macedonian made a dramatic and persistent revival in southern Italy through a series of successful armed expeditions.

In Benevento itself the authority of the prince was as unstable as it had been in the years prior to the Civil War of 839 -849 when two of the princes had been murdered. The prince Gaideris(878-882) for example had to flee Benevento in order to escape a palace revolt; arriving eventually at Bari.[1]

While Gaideris ruled as Byzantine protospatharius in Oria his cousin Radelchis(881-884) was elected as prince in Benevento. After about three years this prince also

[1] Erchempert c.48. p.255: Gaideris vero Francis traditus in custodia, fuga lapsus pervenit urbem Varensem, quo morabantur Greci; a quibus missus est urbem ad regiam Basilio pio augusto, a quo honoratus ditatusque donis imperialibus, Oeream urbem accepit ad convivendum.

fell victim to yet another palace revolt in July/August 884 and was himself replaced in turn by his brother Aio(885-891).

Prince Aio was similarly troubled by aristocratic revolts. Not long after he had assumed the reigns of power his vassal the gastald Marinus of S.Agata rebelled and provoked a new war:

> His quoque diebus Theophilactus stratigo a Vari Teanum hostiliter advenit yemis tempore, Saracenos temptans impugnare; nihilque proficiens, infructuosos abscessit; abiensque Neapolim, Marinum gastaldeum castri S.ctae Agathae Aioni rebellem percepit, et Apuliam rediens, nonnullas munitiones eiusdem Aionis vi apprehendit.[1]

Much of Aio's rule however was dominated by the effects of the resurgence of Byzantine power in Southern Italy.

Not long after the destruction of Montecassino by the Arabs in 883 the Byzantine Emperor, Basil dispatched a huge force to Italy under the command of Nicephorus Phocas the Elder. This was the largest Byzantine force which had been seen in southern Italy for centuries. This was to have a significant effect on the Beneventan Lombards as the Byzantine forces consolidated control over Apulia, Calabria and began to attack and win huge tracks of territory within the principality of Benevento.

Aio did strike at the Byzantines in 887 in response to the strategos of Bari's attacks on Beneventan Lombard towns in Campania. Aio marched on Bari and took it.

[1] Erchempert c.66. p.260.

Within a year however the Byzantines had regained possession of the town. The Byzantine capacity to increase the Eastern Empire's hold on the Lombard territories was enhanced through the cessation of Arab attacks on Calabria, which had been a constant drain on Byzantine resources. After 889 the Arabs however, were rent by factional infighting thus leaving the Byzantines time to consolidate and expand the gains that they had already made.

Following the death of prince Aio in 891 the Byzantine strategos of Bari, Symbaticus attacked Benevento itself and succeeded in capturing the town and toppling Aio's successor his weak son Ursus. Symbaticus proceeded to make Benevento the new seat of Byzantine power in the region in preference to Bari, and also tried, though unsuccessfully to take Salerno.

The Byzantine forces remained in control at Benevento for three years until they were eventually driven from the town by Guy of Spoleto in 895. It is possible that Guy had probably felt that familial connections legitimated his involvement in south Italian affairs: his sister, Itta was married to Guiamar I of Salerno and his mother the empress Ageltrude was the sister of the late Aio and thus a full aunt to the deposed Ursus.

Guy himself ruled in Benevento for two years until 897 when he was called back to Spoleto. With his

departure he nominated that his brother-in-law Guiamar I of Salerno should rule Benevento in his absence. This action on the part of Guy of Spoleto betrayed his misunderstanding of the political situation in southern Italy. It was clear that the Beneventans would not tolerate the rule of a Salernitan prince who had been foisted on them at will. This was clearly borne out by subsequent events. On his way to Benevento to assume control of the town Guiamar was attacked in Avellino by Beneventan sympathisers and blinded.

On hearing of this Guy of Spoleto returned to Campania determined to punish the perpetrators of the crime and laid siege to Avellino. The situation was defused by Guy's mother Ageltrude who suggested to her son that her brother Radelchis should be restored to the Beneventan throne. This Radelchis had already been prince of Benevento between 881 and 884. He had been ousted by a palace coup and replaced by his brother Aio. Radelchis who thus ruled for a second period however was regarded by contemporaries as hopelessly inept, and in January 900 it was relatively easy for Atenolf I of Capua to seize the crown and control of Benevento.

How did all this complexity affect the relations between the Lombard aristocracy and the monasteries in the same period?

There are a few major points which should be noted before turning on to discuss the documentary evidence in

more detail; firstly it should be remembered that the communities of the two great southern monasteries of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino were in exile in the towns of Capua and Teano respectively throughout this entire period; that the Carolingians and northern interests in the south generally played no role in Lombard politics in this period which thereby forced the monasteries to look to the Lombards even more closely than they had done in the past.

This era was marked by an increase in the association of the Beneventan princes with the above monasteries. As clearly stated in the above section for the period between the split of the principality and the sack of S.Vincenzo in 881 we have five charters relating to royal patronage whereas for the nineteen years up too 900 we have 11 documents directly concerning the princes' associations with these two abbeys.

The period opened with the 'election' of Radelchis II whose rule was marked by a remarkable regard for the monastery of S.Sophia and its protection. In the first year of his reign four charters were issued in favour of this particular monastery. In January 881 Radelchis donated to the monastery of S.Sophia lands which had pertained to a certain Leopardus situated in Collina, and lands which had pertained to Gualdrandus situated in Venticano. Both of these men had died intestate and as was the custom in Lombard law their lands were therefore

ceded to the state. As the charter itself records; sicut legibus ad sacrum Palatium devenit.[1]

In February 881 Radelchis granted out more of this particular nobleman's territory. At the request of his wife Arniperga he conceded to Chriscius the prior of S.Sophia all the goods and lands which had pertained to the brothers of Gualprand:[2] Malon and Adoald all of whom had died without an heir. These lands were situated in Collina.[3]

In June he also conceded to Chriscius land and vines situated in Fabrica in the territory of Foriano, which had pertained to Alachis who had also died without an heir. In this particular example it is noteworthy notice that Radelchis had been advised to follow this course of action by an Abbot Adericius.[4] In July he donated to S.Sophia a wood near the church of S.Marcian.[5]

In all of the above charters the land which was donated to the monastery had been acquired by the prince as a result of members of the nobility dying without issue. This suggests that there was little land available in as much as it would appear that Radelchis was clearly

[1] CSS col. 436.
[2] It is likely that the 'Gualprandi' mentioned in this charter was also the 'Gualdrandi' who occured in the charter of January 881. And that the difference in the spellings of the names was due to notarial error.

[3] CSS col.436.
[4] CSS col.454.
[5] CSS col. 437.

in favour of, and wished to make donations to the monasteries but that the only way in which he could do this was by acquiring land indirectly through the death of those members of the aristocracy who had no heirs. This also suggests that there was a certain degree of security in land holding. Furthermore it was clear that it was no longer possible for the prince to rule his nobility through large scale confiscations as had been the case under Arichis in the latter half of the eighth century The Byzantine forces had also reduced quite considerably the Lombard territories in Apulia.

These particular charters also reflect the troubled times in which they were issued. For example, as stated above, they all related to property which had pertained to members of the Lombard nobility who had died without issue. This factor suggests the possibility that these men died young since it was unlikely that three brothers as in the case of the lands situated in Collina (donated in February 881) mentioned above would all die without issue. It suggests that they may have been victims of the internecine warfare which was going on all around them. It was still significant that the prince decided to grant these possessions to S.Sophia at this time rather than using the territories as a way of securing support from other members of the Beneventan aristocracy which also suggests that he must have felt secure in his relations with his aristocratic followers and supporters.

Radelchis' protection and patronage of S.Sophia can best be shown in a document of January 882. In this document Radelchis restored to the monastery goods situated in Liburia which had been taken from the monastery by the monks of Montecassino and given to the Neapolitans, he also restored lands sold by the servants of the abbey in the territories of Alife.[1] This latter charter pre-dates the sack of Montecassino by the Arabs in 883 and shows quite dramatically the level of control a mother house felt itself to have over its dependencies and in turn the rights that the Lombard princes held in relation to monastic possessions.

In February of the same year(882) the same prince also conceded to the monastery land situated in Benevento in the vicinity of the palace.[2]

During his first year as ruler in Benevento Radelchis was evidently concerned to patronise and protect the rights of the convent of S.Sophia. Why this should have been so, beyond his desire to enlist the support of the convent as a mechanism through which he could consolidate his authority, is not at all evident. The exact role and the extent of the influence exerted by the Abbot Adericus and the prior Chriscius upon Radelchis is one aspect which must be considered. They do not however appear in any other sources and it is not known which monastery Adericus ruled. However these two

[1] CSS col.437.
[2] CSS col. 454.

individuals clearly had some considerable influence with the prince.

Radelchis' successor in 884, his brother Aio has left only one charter in which he confirmed S.Sophia's fishing rights in Siponto extending to 300 paces between the fisheries of S.Vincenzo and S.Peter. This document was issued in March 889.[1] As noted above Aio spent most of his active rule combatting the Byzantines and his recalcitrant and rebellious nobles. This particular charter is however somewhat of a conundrum. There are no other extant charters which pertain to this particular prince (concerning monastic patronage) which suggests (even given the possibility that some have been lost or destroyed) that he was no great patron of monasticism. One would expect this, however, since the prince was plagued by revolts among the leading nobility. Aio probably paid these revolts more attention than his predecessor and thus any land that he had to disburse went to followers in the hope of retaining their loyalty.

It is significant also that this same document relates that Aio was advised to make this confirmation on the counsel of his brother Radelchis. Thus although Radelchis had been deposed in 884 by a palace coup in favour of Aio this monastic document shows us that Radelchis not only remained at the royal court in Benevento but that he also retained sufficient political

[1] CSS col.464-465.

influence at the court for his advise to be sought.

During the same period between 881 and 885 Abbot Maio and the monks of S.Vincenzo must have spent some considerable time trying to come to terms with their exile in Capua. It was curious that the documentary evidence suggests that no direct help was immediately forthcoming from either the Beneventan or Salernitan Lombard princes or from the House of Capua. Indeed for the first decade of the monks' exile the community's stability depended to a large extent on the leadership of Abbot Maio. This however was not unexpected since the Lombards were so embroiled in their internal struggles and with the Arabs and the resurgent Byzantines that the safeguarding of monasteries and monastic property must have seemed of little consequence at a time when the general instability of their rule was the normal political environment. There are only three extant charters in the Chronicon Vulturnense covering these early years of monastic exile: two from 883 and one from 885.

The first two charters are of considerable interest as they revealed Abbot Maio's attempts to develop the community's connections with Naples. In the first from October 883 John the subdeacon of the church of Naples and the cellerar of S.Maria in Furcillense sold to abbot Maio a wine-cellar with a house and a cell with a garden

in Furcillense.[1]

On 20 November of the same year the tribune Peter and his wife Maria, in the name of their legitimate son Iohannis qui a malignis Sarracenis captus est, sold to Abbot Maio their portion of a house and court with its dependencies in area called Coraria in Furcillense. It is also explicitly stated in this charter that these goods formed a complete unit with the portion which had already been sold to Maio. The sale cost Maio 80 Sicilian solidi.[2]

The situation however remained rather bleak for Maio and the community of S. Vincenzo and in April 885 in order to ensure that the monks were sustained, lacking all their goods since the destruction of the monastery by the Saracens of Sawdan received in loan 300 pounds of silver from Leo of Isernia, and they conceded a livello as a source of income in Calinu, in Calvulisi and S.Cecilio; ad Foliarite; ad Palaianu; in Calvu ad Pontem next to Capua.[3]

Abbot Maio was clearly struggling to try and hold together some economic base for the monastery during its exile. Throughout this entire period we have no notice of any donations having been made by the aristocracy. However, as stated above this was not to be expected in a period during which so many aristocrats were concerned to

[1] CV II Doc.82. pp.25-27.
[2] CV II Doc.83. pp.27-29.
[3] CV II Doc.74. pp.8-10.

consolidate their own power base rather than whittle away their territorial or monetary possessions in favour of monastic houses which would have quite simply seemed to have been in a real decline.

In 894 Abbot Maio granted a *livello* of land to Grifo and Leo, sons of the deceased Tebaldo of Atina: the cell of S.Valentinus in Atina with its appurtenances with the exception of the churches of S.Maurus and S.Peter *di Anglone*.[1]

In 897 an important court case took place which allows an insight into the shifting attitude of the nobility in favour of the monasteries during the congregation's exile. The events can be briefly recounted: the gastald and judge Louis, in the name of prince Radelchis II and of the empress Ageltrude[2] presided over a case between Abbot Maio of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and a certain Bernardus over the possession of the monastery of S.Maria in Castagneto and its appurtenances. Abbot Maio claimed that Bernardus had illegally occupied the buildings of the monastery. As part of his case Maio maintained that the monastery of S.Maria had been founded by the duchess Theodora, wife of Romuald and that it had been donated to S.Vincenzo by Gisolf I, and that the latter abbey had retained rightful

[1] *CV* II Doc 75. pp.10-11.
[2] Radelchis had recently been restored tp the Beneventan throne with the aid of his sister Ageltrude thus explaining why her name appears in the charter.

possession of S.Maria until the rule of Adelchis II. Those present examined the charter of donation which had been presented in the court case by Maio and had eventually judged in favour of S.Vincenzo.[1]

This particular case throws light on a number of significant factors. First of all we can see the kind of problems which could be and were faced by the monasteries in times of instability and upheaval. For example it would appear in the above case that the noble Bernardus had simply appropriated the monastery of S.Maria in Castegneto which he appears to have physically occupied during the rule of Adelchis II(854-878). Why it took at least 20 years for the monastery of S.Vincenzo to seek redress is a complex question. Two possible reasons are, that the guiding hand of the empress Ageltrude brought a greater degree of stability to the south Italian political scene than had existed throughout the previous quarter of a century. The monastic community which had been in exile in Capua since 881 was slowly but methodically and successfully establishing stability within its internal organisation. Both of these factors would make it possible for the monastery to pursue legal actions against those who had appropriated monastic property during the period of political instability and Lombard internecine warfare. The fact that Abbot Maio had to go to court in order to prove ownership of the monastery of

[1] CV II Doc 77. pp.14-18.

S.Maria in opposition to Bernardus' claims suggests that the possibility of members of the aristocracy owning monasteries and indeed perhaps also living within their precincts was not out of the ordinary in southern Italy.

The role of the empress Ageltrude also throws light on the ethnic dimension of monastic patronage. Ageltrude was a Beneventan Lombard, sister of Radelchis II. It is clear that from an early date during the 890's she was particularly keen to secure the return to the Beneventan throne of her brother Radelchis. In 897 she played a central role in ensuring that the Beneventan throne fell to her brother Radelchis II, who had already ruled in Benevento between 881 and 884.

While it is true that her influence in this event cannot be over-estimated the secondary commentators, to date, have ignored the role of the Beneventan aristocracy in the process of Radelchis' election to the throne.[1] Most of the sources simply state that Ageltrude nominated her brother as ruler of Benevento.[2] However, the Chronicon Salernitanum indicates that Ageltrude cum consensu Beneventanorum Radelchis germanus suis principatui restituit.[3] This, of course, fits well with the usual Lombard practice of 'electing' their rulers.

[1] J.Gay. op.cit., p.151. H.Taviani-Carozzi, op.cit., p53. Both of these scholars fail to mention the role of the aristocracy.

[2] CSB p.488. Also, Catalogus Regum Langobardorum et Ducum Beneventanorum, MGH S.r.l pp.494-495.

[3] CS c.148. p.136.

Here again we can see the decisive link between ethnic identity and monasticism. The Beneventan Lombard aristocracy together with the Lombard empress, Ageltrude, ensure the 'election' of a Lombard to the Beneventan throne. Thereafter, Radelchis, along with his sister proceed to patronise monasteries, particularly S.Vincenzo and S.Sophia.

From 898 and 899 there are two important documents preserved in the Chronicon Vulturnense which pertain to Prince Radelchis II and illumine monastic relations with the prince and the conditions of monastic life in the late ninth century. In the first dated to August 898 Radelchis II pronounced in the presence of the empress Ageltrude in favour of Abbot Maio and monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno, and confirmed to the prior Adelpert the possession of S.Maria in Loco Sano immunity from all burdens together with that of S.Felice and of the other belongings of the monastery of S. Vincenzo.[1]

In the second document Radelchis II assisted by bishop Peter, abbots, judges and other Lombard nobles, and at the request of Adelpert, prior of the monastery of S.Peter, confirmed that despite the destruction of the monastery of S.Vincenzo by the Saracens, the congregation would not lose rights of possession of the many cells and other goods acquired and donated to the same monastery.[2]

These documents once again show the hand of

[1] CV II. doc 81. pp.24-25.
[2] CV II. doc.79. pp.20-21.

Ageltrude in their execution as well as other elements. Firstly it was clear that the community of S. Vincenzo was attempting to avoid paying the usual taxes due to the state on monastic property; that is why it was mentioned explicitly that S.Maria had been granted immunity from all burdens. Abbot Maio, acutely aware of S.Vincenzo's financial situation, could do little but seek to excuse the monastery and its dependencies from burdens. He seems to have achieved this successfully. Although granted in 898 a similar though more wide reaching immunity had been isssued in 892 under the auspices of the Byzantine commander based in Benevento during the period of Byzantine Beneventan rule. It is as well at this stage to quote the Byzantine charter in full. In that document which was issued during August 892 Georgius patrician and protospatharius, strategos of Cephalonia and of Benevento confirmed to Abbot Maio and to Adelpert prior of S.Peter's outside Benevento and rector of S.Maria in Loco Sano the imperial protection and favour to the three monasteries, he also exempted them from any burdens or taxes on their possessions including dependent monasteries and also restricted monks from leaving their respective monasteries or of introducing new usages.[1]

This latter proviso has every appearance of being a politically shrewd move on the part of Georgius in that it offered security to the Latin monasteries that

[1] CV II. doc.80. pp.21-23.

Byzantine practices would not be introduced into the Latin abbeys. The exemptions from burdens granted by Radelchis in 898 were not new to the monastic community. Nevertheless they were of vital importance to the monasteries and to their ability to survive in troubled times. Why should the prince do this when he would have been glad of receiving revenue from monastic property? There may be a number of different factors; firstly it may have been the result of personal piety on the part of Radelchis II.

In this entire period that is between 881 and 900, Radelchis can be shown to have had a hand in all charters which favoured monasteries in one way or another. Even in the one royal charter issued by Aio in favour of S.Sophia in Benevento we find that Radelchis advised the prince on that course of action. Secondly it may be pertinent to reflect on the influence of Adelpert the prior of S.Peter and the rector of S.Maria in Loco Sano. Quite clearly he was an influential figure in Benevento even during the Byzantine occupation of the town between 891 and 895. He first appears in a document of 892 in a position of some significance. He was still in an influential position within Beneventan society in 898 and 899 when he is recorded as receiving monastic immunities from Radelchis II in the presence of the empress Ageltrude and a year later it was Adelpert who advised Radelchis on the current plague of the community

of S.Vincenzo after losing all its possessions following the destruction of the monastery by the Arabs. It was clear that links between the monastery and the prince could be developed through the prior of S.Peter's; thus it was important for the abbot of S. Vincenzo to appoint someone who might have sway with the Beneventan princes.

Conclusion

As far as supporting monasteries was concerned, particularly from the standpoint of issuing grants in favour of the abbeys, the reign and influence of Prince Radelchis II in the period between 881 and 900 was crucial and essential to the survival of the monasteries. Why Radelchis should have been so concerned to support the monastery of S. Vincenzo and the convent of S.Sophia is clear. The evidence we have in relation to other princes and to the aristocracy in general suggests that Radelchis' patronage was a direct response to the danger of foreign powers which threatened the independence of the Lombard rule in Benevento.

As far as the aristocracy was concerned there are no documents whatsoever indicating their support of the monasteries. On the contrary there is a discernible rise in altercations between the monasteries and the Lombard aristocracy over the ownership of lands and other possessions, as was clearly the case with Bernardus who had occupied S.Maria in Castagneto.

It is conceivable therefore, that without a Byzantine resurgence and intervention in Benevento, there may have been no donations made during this period. Although Radelchis was clearly pious and influenced by religious figures such as Abbot Adericus, his patronage of monasteries suggests that he must have been fully aware of the link between authority, power, ethnic identity and monastic patronage.

B. Political Role of Abbots and Monks: Points of Contact

The influence of abbots and monks was also felt in the internal operations of the central court. During this period the monasteries had the monopoly of learning and culture and thus it is of no surprise to find them in demand in the court administration. The partition treaty of 850 provides us with a good example of how important a role the monks played in the court: a function that was fully appreciated and jealously protected by the princes. Due to the ravages which had been wrought by the conflict of the Civil War many abbots and monks took refuge in the court based at Benevento, (again demonstrating that the Civil War in many ways strengthened the contacts between princes and abbots.) That there had been a great deal of instability and dislocation during and in the wake of the civil war there can be no doubt.[1] The plea to the emperor from the Abbots Bassaccius and Iacobus was considered only in face of an overwhelming Arab threat and the full realisation of the inability of the divisive Lombards to deal with the threat. In clause 5 of the treaty it is stated that all the monks and nuns who had sought refuge were to be returned to their abbeys exceptis illis, qui per uirtutem aliorum illic

[1] The Arabs who had been drawn into the conflict at the behest of both Radelchis and Siconolf, were a particularly destablising force in the south. The band which garrisoned Benevento and was led by Massar menaced the Volturno Valley, seizing Telese and pillaging the monastery of S.Maria of Cengla. See CSB. c.7.

introierunt aut in palatio seruiunt.[1] Clearly the monks were employed in the day to day palace administration.

The functions that they performed ranged from notarial duties to advising the prince. Throughout the period of the Civil War, and later, monks are found as notaries drawing up documents in the central palace at Benevento. This was not a role solely conducted by the monks but also by the abbots themselves. During the reign of prince Adelchis II for example we find that an Abbot Thomas drafted two royal charters donating land to the monasteries of S. Vincenzo and S.Sophia.[2] It does not appear that this protection was extended to the monasteries of S. Vincenzo or Montecassino as most of the names which appear in the sources closely linked with the royal court cannot be proven to have had any connections with those two houses.

The abbots who were in attendance at court could also receive favours from the prince as well as counselling him to their own benefit. In 842 Radelchis I following the advice of Abbot Maio granted to Abbot Ragenaldus and his sister Scildusa the property of one Lambaiarius which had been confiscated from the latter because of his insurrection against the prince.[3] The

[1] MGH Edict.cet. p.196.

[2] CSS col.455.

[3] CDC I.19 pp20-21. It has proved impossible to identify the monasteries that were under the rule of these abbots.

influence of abbots and monastic functionaries at court was considerable throughout the entire period. In 826 prince Sico at the request of Abbot Gutto conceded to Mallone his doorkeeper an estate in Desiniano.[1] The prior of particular monasteries also held particular political sway and those of S.Sophia appear throughout the extant documentation advising the prince to either grant land to individuals or to monastic houses. In 834 and 835 Bassarius the prior of S.Sophia advised the prince Sicard to grant lands to his mother house.[2] In 840 Radelchis at the request of Antoninus the prior of S.Sophia made a donation to the monastery.[3]

The various patterns of advice in respect of numerous donations were fairly complex. For example, we find abbots of one house requesting the prince to make donations to another monastic house or to other members of their own communities. In October 841 Radelchis at the request of Abbot Ioannis made a donation to the abbey of S.Sophia and in 881 Adelchis at the request of Abbot Aderic granted an estate to Criscius the prior of the same monastery.[4] Although it has proved difficult to identify these abbots with a particular monastery these examples do demonstrate that abbots actively promoted their own interests in the central court as advisers to respective princes. It is also significant that these

[1] CSS col 459. June 826.
[2] Ibid.,col 435-436.
[3] Ibid., col. 453.
[4] Ibid., col.454.

abbots were not associated with the two major houses of S.Vincenzo and Montecassino but that they obviously hailed from the smaller houses in the principality. Thus an abbot did not necessarily have to be head of the most distinguished monasteries in order to wield considerable influence at the central court.

Abbots also played a significant legal role both in drafting charters and as legal advisers. In 899 Radelchis II confirmed the possessions of the monastery of S.Peter in Benevento with the assistance of Bishop Peter and unamed abbots, judges, and other Lombard nobles.[1] When the princes Landolf I and Atenolf II extended the territory pertaining to Abbot Godelpert and S.Vincenzo in Capua, among those who gave counsel to the princes were bishops, abbots and magnates.[2] Abbots, therefore, had a central role in the most significant manifestation of royal authority: advising and ratifying legal and binding charters drawn up in the name of the princes, who in order to give their donations more solid a foundation made explicit mention of abbots as having played a central role in their formation.

Paradoxically although the internal struggles of the Lombards served to weaken the monasteries the religious houses also acquired new territories as a result of aristocratic revolts. The extant documentation has many references to the estates of rebellious nobles being

[1] CV II. Doc.79.
[2] Ibid., Doc. 85.

confiscated by the prince and then being donated to the monasteries. In 840 the abbot Ragenaldus as already cited, was granted the lands of one Laimbarius who had revolted against prince Radelchis.[1] In 885 Prince Aio of Benevento granted to Criscius the prior of Montecassino, estates in the area of Alife and Telese which had been confiscated from a nobleman by the name of Poto who had conspired against the prince's father the prince Adelchis.[2] This pattern existed throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. As late as 970 we find that Pandolf I donated to the monastery of S.Sophia in Benevento estates which had been confiscated from the sons of the judge Sadelfrid, who had been found guilty of having conspired against the life of the prince.[3] However the instability and confusion of continual revolt and the rise of Arab incursions probably made the exploitation of these new lands impracticable and in practice was not enough to halt the decline of the monasteries. What they required was protection of their rights and tenure of their vast estates. This could only be guaranteed by effective royal control and thus the weakness of the prince and their inability to create a stable hereditary dynasty weakened the monasteries and accentuated their gradual decline.

The social standing of abbots and their place within

[1] CDC I. pp.20-21.
[2] Gatt.Acc. p.41.
[3] CSS col. 439.

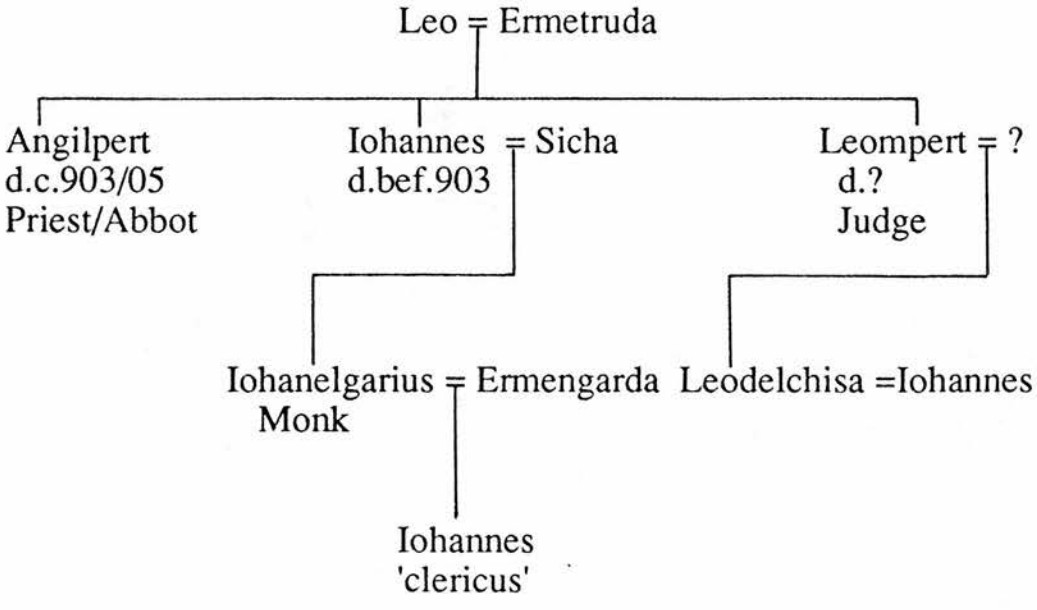
the christocentric governmental ethos led inevitably to their employment by the princes as highly influential political ambassadors. They were employed in this capacity a number of times by the Lombard princes. Atenolf of Capua when attempting to enlist the support of Pope Stephen against the Arabs based on the Garigliano decided to send as ambassadors Abbot Maio of S. Vincenzo and the deacon Dauferius.[1] Although this mission was never sent Atenolf shortly afterwards decided to send Abbot Aligern of Montecassino.[2] Atenolf clearly recognised the political weight that each abbot possessed due to his religious and social standing. The same count/prince also employed Abbot Maio as a missus on a mission to Bishop Athanasius of Naples.[3] The use of an abbot in this political capacity clearly carried more political weight than simply sending one of the princes' own men.

Abbots often came from the noble ranks of society. Unfortunately, due to the paucity of source material it is not possible to trace the origins of some of the most distinguished south Italian abbots of the ninth and tenth centuries, such as Abbot Epiphanius (824-842) of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. Nevertheless, there are some abbots whose social origins can be established. Such is the case with Abbot Angilpert of Nocera in the ninth and

[1] Erchempert. c.65. p.260.
[2] Ibid., c.69. p.261.
[3] Ibid., c.70. p.261.

tenth centuries. Angilpert first appears in the sources in 849 when, together with his brothers Iohannes and

The family of Angilpert: Priest and Abbot



Key: d.c.= died circa.
d. bef.= died before.

Figure I

Leompert, he bought land from one Leo, son of the late Iohannis, in Nocera.[1] At that time there was no indication of Angilpert's ecclesiastical office. However, between 878 and 882 there is a series of six documents in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis collection which record a series of transactions in which Angilpert (now referred to as presbiter) was buying land in Nocera, in order to aggrandise the property he already held of his father near Agella.[2]

Finally, in a document of 903 in which he leaves his property to his sister-in-law, and his nephew, Iohanelgarius, Angilpert was refered to as presbiter et abbas.[3] It is clear that Angilpert came from the noble ranks of Lombard society. For example, he had inherited his father's lands in Nocera, he had amassed sufficient wealth of his own to allow him to aggrandise his property in the 870's and 880's, and his brother, Leompert, was a judge.[4] Moreover, Angilpert was a member of a noble family which had strong and persistent ecclesiastical links. By 932 his nephew Iohanelgarius was a monk, and his son, Iohannis, was in turn refered to a clericus.[5]

The primary objective of the princes was undoubtedly to stabilise and strengthen their tenure of the office of

[1] CDC I Doc. 33, pp.39-40.
[2] CDC I Doc. 82, pp.105-106. CDC I Doc. 85, pp.113-114. CDC I Doc. 91, pp.117-118. CDC I Doc 94, p.120. CDC I Doc. 97, pp.123-124.

[3] CDC I Doc.118, pp.149-150.
[4] CDC I Doc.94, p.120.
[5] CDC I Doc.141, pp.180-181.

'prince'. Two methods they employed to aid this was by waging war against the enemies of the principate, and by securing their own private landed power base. In both of these areas monasticism performed a crucial role. The wars against Naples in the ninth century could result in booty and estates being acquired which the prince would then divide among his faithful followers, thereby ensuring their allegiance to his rule. These wars however were expensive and a drain on the princes' revenues and one way in which he could help finance his exploits was to turn to the monasteries and the wealth that they retained in their treasuries. It was the war with the Neapolitans which induced Siconolf to raid the treasury of the monastery of Montecassino in the 840's removing precious objects including a richly embellished crown which had been a gift to the monastery from his father prince Sico.[1] This may to some extent explain the rift between Sicard and Deusdedit outlined above but it also shows that if the princes had close and influential links with the abbot then they would have had access to monastic treasuries at any time. We must also remember that the prince had the right to dispose of a monastery's lands when and to whom he wished. Actions of this kind must have been on the increase during the War with Naples and the Civil War. As the prince tried to keep the aristocracy happy he could and did turn to the resources

[1] CSB c.7 p.473. CC c.26. pp.74-76.

of the monasteries to help maintain internal political cohesion.

On the other hand rather than tyrannically controlling the monastic estates agreements could also be drawn up between the prince and the abbot which would be to their mutual benefit. For example in 849 Siconolf of Salerno received from Abbot Iacobus of S.Vincenzo the property of the monastery in the area of Tusciano in exchange for his property described as being of great value near the bridge of Lapideo.[1] Similarly in 928 Landolf I and Atenolf II confirmed Montecassino's possession of an estate in Petramelara which had formerly been conceded to the abbey by the same princes in return for an estate in Pantano.[2] These exchanges were important in order to allow the prince to consolidate his direct control over a particular region. The prince could in theory therefore have a relatively free hand in choosing his own personal landed power base.

Monasteries had a long history of offering refuge to political exiles. In 817 the gastald Radelchis entered the monastery of Montecassino in order to dedicate his life to God and in so doing gain expiation for his sins. Radelchis had played a leading role alongside Sico in the palace revolt against Grimoald IV.[3] This revolt was successful and it is perhaps a little implausible to

[1] CV I. Doc.66. pp.316-318.
[2] Gatt Acc p.47. Capua 25 April 928
[3] Erchempert. c.9. p.238.

accept that Radelchis after actively rebelling would simply retire of his own accord to a monastery. As a leading member of the rebel faction he would have had a prominent role in the 'government' under Sico and would therefore be a powerful and potentially dangerous aristocrat. It was in Sico's interests to remove him from power and send him to Montecassino. In this case the monastery was employed at an early stage to defuse a potentially divisive political situation. The monastery, in this example, may have been said to have been functioning as a 'prison' for potential opponents of the Prince.

The rise and success of Pandolf I 'Ironhead' can be linked with two main features: his close association with the Ottonians and his protection of monasteries. From the opening of his reign he worked in close cooperation with both Montecassino and S.Vincenzo. He sat on judgement cases in which their rights to earlier possessions were reinforced and under his auspices they began the systematic reorganisation and exploitation of their estates. The monasteries organised the population of their respective terrae into small localised defended townships in a process known as incastellamento. It was this process which enabled the monasteries to slowly regain their landed base and increase their wealth and prepare the way for the regeneration of monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But it was a process which would not have

progressed successfully without the political support of Pandolf I Ironhead. It was the prince who granted them the right to build fortified centres and in so doing ensured that the monasteries would in turn lend their support to his political rule.

In very general terms princes were always careful to safeguard the rights of monasteries. They played too crucial a role in the formation of their government for them to disregard their wishes but they could also be actively used to the princes' advantage.

Although in real terms the monasteries had declined throughout the ninth century they still formed an important religious facet of the princes' rule and were still revered as places of special religious significance and their abbots as men of special religious, social and political standing. Rather than escaping from the outside world in order to concentrate on a life of prayer dedicated to God abbots found themselves at the very heart of governmental politics and society. They worked within the central court, they advised the princes, and they were employed as ambassadors. Their importance cannot be over-emphasised, as they played a significant role in politics both as active participants and in the more subliminally influential role as advisers and functionaries at the Lombard court.

Without the support of the monasteries the princes' power though fragile would have been significantly

weakened. On the other hand the monasteries required stability and protection and this could only be guaranteed under the leadership of the prince. Protection was provided on two levels: firstly military protection in the face of armed aggression such as the Arabs, and secondly and of more significance protection under the law. The main function of the prince was to maintain the peace. Since imperial law was only of real significance when the emperor was in the south in person it was within Lombard law that the monasteries functioned and that their rights both territorially and in strictly legal terms were protected. This was nowhere more evident than in the wave of legal cases which followed the communities' return to their original centres after the period of monastic exile. In this period they fought hard to regain possession of lands which had pertained to their houses in the ninth century but which in the period of exile had been appropriated by members of the lay aristocracy. Witness the vast number of such documents in which Pandolf I Ironhead intervened on behalf of the monasteries.

Although there were periods of friction the monasteries and the princes could not function without the support of the other. The relative weakness of the Lombard princes forced them to rely heavily on the support of the monasteries. The abbeys, in their turn, attempting to survive in a region of political turmoil

and instability desperately looked to each prince to safeguard their rights and possessions. The fluctuations that both experienced throughout the 9th and 10th centuries indicates a truly symbiotic relationship.

C. Lombard Royal Control Over Monasteries

Crucial to the prince's maintenance of power was the element of control he could exercise over political institutions and one of the main sources of wealth and authority; namely land. As monasteries were the richest landowners in the south the shifts in control of the lands could indicate shifts in the political power balance between princes, gastalds, and kin groups. One of the factors behind the rise of the house of Capua was the part played by the sons and grandsons of count Landolf in appropriating estates and placing them under their personal control, thereby amassing wealth from increased landed resources. It was therefore essential that the princes had as much control as was possible over the monasteries and the administration of their estates. One method of achieving this was by having a role to play (if not the leading role) in the election of abbots to their office.

The importance of abbots and their relations with any particular prince is crucial to an understanding of how they functioned within the Lombard society of southern Italy. It is clear from the extant documentary

evidence that princes were keen to ensure that their own men or at least those who were willing to submit to their authority were elected as abbots or abbesses. This is highlighted by Arichis' appointment of his own sister as the first abbess of S.Sophia, and in the late ninth century when Atenolf of Capua's cousin Cuntberga was abbess of the monastery of S.Maria in Teano. Through such ties the princes strengthened their influence over monasticism by ensuring that the leading monastic figures were part of their familial structure.

Sicard's deposition of Abbot Deusdedit of Montecassino in 834 also clearly highlights the importance to the prince of having a malleable abbot at the head of each house. Erchempert's invective against Sicard was probably conditioned to a great extent by Deusdedit's deposition. The reason for Deusdedit's removal from the abbatial office is not known. Erchempert claims that it was due to Sicard's greed for money, in particular his desire to acquire the treasury of Montecassino and there is no reason to doubt this explanation. The other chroniclers gloss over the incident passing mild judgement. Erchempert however was writing his history guided by colourful biases and under the auspices of the ruling House of Capua under Atenolf I of Calvi who had taken control with the aid of Bishop Athenasius of Naples.

The Capuan house owed no allegiances to the

Beneventan princes and Erchempert was allowed free hand in spreading his invective against Sicard, whose wars against Naples had resulted in the prince relying heavily on the treasury of Montecassino to help finance the wars. If we put to one side the biases of Erchempert it is still evident that there was a rift between Sicard and Abbot Deusdedit. During Sico's rule Montecassino and Abbot Deusdedit were beneficiaries of the princes' good will. Leo Marsicanus relates that Sico had conceded the right to fish and to pasturage on and adjacent to the River Lauro to Deusdedit.[1]

However, during the reign of his son Sicard princely favours to Montecassino dried up. This was not due, as Erchempert would have us believe, to the prince's lack of Christian virtue. In this same period the monasteries of S.Vincenzo and S.Sophia both received a number of charters from Sicard detailing confirmations to property in their possession and new grants and rights. Between February 833 and January 836 these two monasteries received four charters each from the prince while Montecassino in this same period did not benefit from princely patronage.[2] Not until June 837 did Montecassino and its new abbot Authpert receive a grant

[1] CC c.22.p.67.
[2] Chron.S.Soph. col 552, 435, 435-436, 436.
S.Vincenzo. February 833. chron Vult Vol I Doc 56 pp291-292 May 833. Ibid., Doc 58. pp293-294.
August 833. Ibid.,Doc 57. pp292-293
January 836. Ibid., doc 59. pp294-296.

from prince Sicard, in this case of two forests near Monte Gargano.[1]

Moreover there were also some indications as to Sicard's personal piety. In a charter of 834/835 in which the prince granted fishing rights in Siponto to the monastery of S.Sophia of Benevento the details stipulate that the stretch of water lay between the fisheries of S.Maria and the "cell" of the prince.[2] The rift between Sicard and Deusdedit was no doubt exacerbated by the Lombard wars against Naples which were a drain on the prince's resources, and also involved the gastalds from the western half of the principality. The wars had placed a great strain on the monastery. It is not clear how Deusdedit actively opposed Sicard but it must have been troublesome enough for the prince to force his abdication from office. The Deusdedit episode highlights how important it was for the princes to have their own men in control of the great abbeys. Deusdedit was an irksome problem but one which could be removed by the prince.

Sicard was clearly acting within the remit of his authority as Princeps gentis Langobardorum when he deposed Abbot Deusdedit. It is clear that princes had a central role to play in the internal organisation of the abbeys and in particular that they held specific rights with regard to the election or deposition of abbots. Among the charters contained in the Chronicon Vulturnense there

[1] Gatt.Acc. p.35.
[2] CSS col.436.

is one from February of 878 which emphatically states that the goods and lands pertaining to the abbey could not be disposed of without the consent of the prince and the abbot.[1] That the prince could clearly override any decisions concerning the alienation or sale of land which had been taken by any abbot and by any monastery was evident in 882 when prince Radelchis restored to the monastery of S.Sophia its property in Liburia which had been taken from the monastery by the monks of St Benedict and given to the Neapolitans and restored also the lands sold by the servants of the monastery situated in Alife and Castel S.Giovanni.[2] Evidently the monastery of Montecassino could not alienate or dispose of any territory without the assent of the prince. In this case, of course, it was also politically sensitive to sell land to the Neapolitans, the habitual enemies of the Lombard court of Benevento. The control of land was always politically sensitive and therefore it was important that the prince should have and exercise a degree of control over monastic property. It follows that this course of action on the part of the prince would have been made a great deal easier if he could rely on the compliance of the particular abbots concerned.

The control of the prince over monastic estates also extended to exacting military service and taxes. Often a distinction was made between the fragmented monastic

[1] CV II. Doc.78.pp.18-20.
[2] CSS col.437.

estates which suggests that taxes and services due to the prince were assessed not *en masse* but on the individual units of land which together constituted the monastic *terrae*. In 951 the princes Landolf II and Pandolf II granted to the monastery of Montecassino and Abbot Aligern exemption from the taxes and rents due from the possessions of the abbey in *Casa Genzana*.[1] Evidently these rents had been paid to the central court prior to 951. This also throws a different light on a further ramification of princely donations. That is through the monasteries the prince could retain indirect control over territories although they did not form part of the royal patrimony and at the same time collect taxes from them, while the economic exploitation of the lands would be left to the monasteries. However this created a delicate balance in the turmoil of southern Italy. The split of the principality divided the sources of revenue which could be gleaned from monastic taxation two ways and although on the one hand strengthening the bonds between the princes and abbots also at the same time irrevocably weakened them both. Nonetheless, the monasteries were economically important to each Lombard prince and the central court.

D. Monasticism and Political Influence: Success or Failure?

[1] *Gatt.Acc.* p.56. *CC* c.2.

Much of the secondary material on monasticism makes continual reference to the perceived ability of the monasteries to exercise a political influence over peripheral territories. As early as 1942 Dom Philibert Schmitz, in his work Histoire de l'orde de saint benoit, argued that by founding monasteries and through monastic patronage (with particular reference to Carolingian patronage of S.Vincenzo al Volturno) aristocratic donors were creating centres of influence over their vassals and enemies.[1] In more recent years L.Feller argued that the monastery of S.Clemente di Casauria was essential in the process which allowed the comital family of Attonides to increase their authority after 960.[2] In the case of the Lombard princes of Southern Italy such a process would involve attempts to control the peripheral gastaldates, and from the Carolingian and Ottonian stand-points an increase in the influence of their respective empires over the Southern Lombards themselves. Apart from the purely religious context of Carolingian and Ottonian confirmations to the monasteries of S.Vincenzo and Montecassino many historians have seen these charters as a way of employing the monasteries as a mechanism through which the ideology, authority and influence of the

[1] P.Schmitz Histoire de l'ordre de saint Benoit Volume I (Maredsous 1942) pp.63-64.

[2] L.Feller 'Pouvoir et société dans les Abruzzes autour de l'an mil: aristocratie, incastellamento, appropriation des justices (960-1035)' BISI 94. (1988) p.3.

particular political ruling elite or monastic patron could be disseminated. It will be demonstrated in this section that in Lombard southern Italy monastic patronage did not guarantee the promotion of the patron's ideology.

For example, although the imperial forces of the west patronised the monasteries in the south these houses cannot be shown to have actively advanced their attempts to subject the Lombards to the status of vassals of the Western Empire. Imperial wishes were respected in the south only when the emperor, or king was there in person, supported by superior military forces. When they left the area the Lombards paid little heed to the wishes or claims of the Carolingians/Ottonians or Byzantines. Only when the Lombard princes themselves worked in close cooperation with the imperial forces did the emperors stand any chance of having their authority recognised in the south. This was the case with Pandolf I 'Ironhead' whose success in the principalities was due, in some degree, to the fact that he was closely allied to both Otto I and Otto II.

The one major stumbling block against an increase in imperial suzerainty was the Lombard's fierce independence and national ethnic identity. Their awareness of their own cultural distinctiveness and identity was shared by laity and churchmen alike, and

found a particularly active outlet in the monasteries.[1] Even S. Vincenzo and Montecassino as favoured monasteries of the empire only appealed directly for imperial aid in the wake of the war of 839-849 when the situation seemed desperate in the face of rising Arab aggression. Even when imperial forces were in the south this could not guarantee their success nor the subservience of the Lombards. For example the failure of Louis II's expedition in the south and his imprisonment at the hands of Prince Aio in 870 was a debacle caused primarily by Frankish inability to recognise the potent strength and depth of Lombard political ethnic identity.

The Eastern Empire also regarded support for monasticism as an important aspect of political domination. When the Byzantine forces were in control of Benevento between 891 and 894, both S.Vincenzo and Montecassino received confirmations, donations and immunities from the Eastern commanders; Symbaticus and Georgius.[2] In 892, for example, Georgius the patrician, protospatharius and strategos of Cephalonia, extended imperial protection to S.Vincenzo al Volturno and two of the abbey's daughter houses (S.Maria in Loco Sano, and S.Pietro in Benevento). Georgius also exempted the monasteries from tax burdens and assured Abbot Maio that no 'new usages' (that is, Greek practices) would be

[1] This ethnic aspect of monastic development in southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries will be explored fully in Part V of this thesis.

[2] For Montecassino, see; CC c.49, pp.128-130.

introduced into the monasteries.[1] As in the case of the Carolingians, the Byzantine patronage of monasticism did help to increase their political hold over the Lombard principality, and by 894 the Byzantine forces had been expelled from Benevento.

Within the Lombard principality itself Lombard patronage did not ensure political support for the Lombard princes in the peripheral gastaldates. Throughout the ninth and tenth centuries one factor which continually reappeared was the propensity of the Lombards to rise in revolt against any particular prince and his administration. Although monasticism remained an important adjunct to political power and authority and the princes of the three principalities continued to forge links with the abbeys and their abbots. The monasteries manifestly failed to prevent local gastaldates rebelling against the central authority. The position of the prince was far too weak to prevent ambitious gastalds making a bid for power and the monasteries were powerless to stop this.

According to the author of the Chronicon Salernitanum one of the rebellious nobles was an abbot by the name of Alphanus who had rebelled in the 820's as a result of the measures taken by the prince at the behest of his treasurer Roffrid a nobleman who certainly wielded

[1] CV II Doc.80, pp.21-23.

considerable influence in the court.[1] Although the evidence related by the anonymous author of this work should be treated with a great deal of caution[2] it is interesting to note that in the late tenth century it was not inconceivable that an abbot should take an active and leading part in a revolt against the prince. The active role of abbots in warfare was of course nothing new: one thinks in particular about Nithard, although in his case the famous abbot of S.Riquier fought an external enemy in the Vikings and not his own king.[3]

The gastaldate of Acerenza in the ninth century also provides us with an illuminating example of the inability of monasticism to secure the loyalty of local gastalds to the central court. Those gastalds whose power bases were in particularly remote regions of the principality probably functioned as autocratic and 'independent' rulers. Nevertheless if one accepts the premise that monasticism had a role in ensuring solidarity then monastic influence should have been felt in these regions. Both

1 From the extant documentary evidence the early years of the 830's appear to have been the zenith of Roffrid's political influence. In these years he continually appears as the prince's chief adviser.

2 No other chronicler refers to this individual as an abbot. And indeed according to Erchempert the offending rebel was eventually hanged. Although the power of the prince over the abbots was considerable it is hard to conceive iof this extending to his right to putting any abbot to death. Furthermore had Erchempert known that this nobleman was an abbot he would surely have made more of this as he had no great affection for Sico and his son Sicard. It was probably an embellishment on the part of the Chronicle of Salerno.

3 E,James The Origins of France (London, 1982). p.157.

Montecassino and S.Vincenzo owned substantial property in the diocese of Acerenza. For example as outlined above the monastery of S.Maria in Banze in the locality had been donated to Montecassino by Grimoald III in May of 797/798.[1]

In the first half of the ninth century however two of the most successful revolts of the period were led by gastalds of Acerenza. In 817 Grimoald IV was murdered during a revolt which was led by his successor Sico of Acerenza, and in 849 one of Radelchis I's main opponents and a supporter of Siconolf was the gastald Radelmond of Acerenza. Although only one of the above princes can be proved to have actively supported the monasteries[2] there is no evidence whatsoever which would suggest that either of them opposed or hampered monastic houses in the period an action which may have led to the latter's advocacy of the revolts in which Sico and Radelmond played so active a part. On the contrary, monastic expansion and exploitation of their resources could only be achieved in times of minimal dislocation and disruption. It is most unlikely that they would espouse anything other than support for both Grimoald IV and Radelchis I at the time of the rebellions.

In 833 Prince Sicard donated to S.Vincenzo the property of certain magnates in the vicinity of Venafro.

[1] Gatt.Acc.p.18 Also; CC c.18. 159-62.
[2] Grimoald IV made a donation to the monastery of S.Vincenzo in 810. CV I. Doc 31. p.244.

They had been found guilty of rebelling against the prince and their possessions confiscated.[1] This case is perhaps a more striking example of the failure of the monasteries to control the actions of those who lived within the influential sphere of the monastery. Sicard's support of S.Vincenzo and the proximity of Venafro to the abbey was no guarantee against rebellion.

The weakness of the position of the prince and the lack of a clearly defined pattern of primogeniture in the office of prince was at the heart of the Lombard internecine struggles throughout these two centuries. Walter Ullmann has shown that political ideology throughout the Middle Ages developed to the stage where the prince was seen as deriving his power and authority from God and that this therefore placed a wedge between the office of king and the leading members of the aristocracy. Although the king had to pay close attention to the wishes of his nobility the theoretical demarcation of who could and who could not be king was in the process of sharper distinction and clarification. In southern Italy, however, the prince was simply elected by the members of the aristocracy, above all he was not a king.[2] Grimoald IV, Sico and Radelchis II had all been elected to rule by their followers and their sons were

[1] CV I. Doc.57. pp.292-293.

[2] The sons of Charlemagne were also elected to office but in this case the heir was clearly a close family member. In Southern Italy any leading member of the aristocracy could consider himself in line for the throne.

not assured of inheriting any right to rule. In reality any ambitious member of the aristocracy could feel himself worthy of holding the crown and was therefore prepared to fight to gain control against the machinations of a prince whose policies he did not agree with. This was the crux of the divisive nature of southern Lombard society. Neither the monasteries nor the prince could safeguard against these revolts. They were a continual feature of the southern Italian political scene.[1]

Conclusion

A study of the relations between the southern Lombard aristocracy and monasticism reveals the crucial level of interdependence which existed between the Beneventan royal court and the great monasteries of southern Italy. A central factor in the relationship was found to be Lombard ethnic identity and its expression through monasticism and in particular through monastic patronage.

In short when Lombard political independence was under threat from external aggressors monastic patronage increased. Such patronage also served to strengthen the

[1] Constance Bouchard has considered, in detail, the political dimesion of monastic patronage during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and concluded that although it was a common assumption that noble donated a large amount of property to a monastery in order to extend level of cotrol over the region, argued that it was difficult to see how this would result in any real extension of the nobility's authority. See. C.Bouchard, Sword, Miter and Cloister pp.229-230.

monasteries which , as institutions, were a critical bolster to Lombard royal authority.

Monastic importance in this sphere was demonstrated in sections B and C which highlighted the immense contribution monasteries, and in particular, monks and abbots, made to Lombard political life - as ambassadors and court functionaries.

The economic significance of their vast estates became clear as the documentary evidence demonstrated that Lombard princes charged rents on monastic property. Their importance in the economic sphere was reflected in the level of control that the princes had over monasteries.

The final section illustrated two points; firstly, that the political context of monasteries in southern Italy was different from other regions of Europe. In the south monasteries could not be used as channels for disseminating the political influence of external powers, such as the Carolingian or Byzantine Empires.

On the contrary, monasteries in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy had developed into fundamental components and advocates of southern Lombard political independence.

Part III

Monasteries, the Papacy and the Tenth Century 'Reform' Movement.

Introduction

The extent to which the Papacy and the so-called 'monastic reform' movements influenced monastic development in Lombard southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries has never been satisfactorily studied. In relation to the Holy See historians have tended to focus too readily on the overtly political activities of the popes, John VIII and John X, and their respective struggles with the Arabs culminating in the victory of the Christian forces on the Garigliano in 915.[1]

Similarly, scholars of the tenth century 'monastic reform' have tended to over-emphasise the importance of Abbot Odo of Cluny and his followers, Baldwin, Aligern and John of Salerno in the history of Montecassino and southern Italy.[2] While it is true that historical figures of the stature of Pope John VIII and Abbot Odo of Cluny cast long shadows it is also true that these shadows can and do obscure the true nature of monastic development in southern Italy and its relationship to both Papacy and 'monastic reform'.

In this part of the thesis it will be demonstrated

[1] F.E.Engreen, 'Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs', Speculum 20 (1945) pp.318-330.

[2] T.Leccisotti, 'Una lacuna della storia di montecassino al secolo X' Studia Anselmiana (Vatican, 1947) pp.273-281. B.Hamilton, 'The Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome' Studia Monastica 4 (1962) pp.35-68.

that the Papacy and Cluniac reform had limited influence in the Lombard principalities. In order to examine this hypothesis this section of the thesis will discuss a broad range of issues under two sub-sections.

Section A will examine papal relations with southern Italy (but more specifically with monasticism) from the late eighth century through to a discussion of the role of Pope John X in the attack on the Garigliano. Firstly the section will consider the background to papal ecclesiastical and temporal claims to rule in southern Italy. It will be demonstrated that these claims had more to do with Papal/Carolingian political relations than with any realistic appreciation of the situation vis-a-vis the Lombard principalities of southern Italy. It will also become evident that both John VIII and John X had a marginal influence on south Italian affairs and that the monasteries played no part in their wars against the Arabs.

Section B will examine three topics which fall under the heading 'Monasticism and Reform': monastic exemptions issued by Marinus II in 944 in favour of Montecassino and S.Vincenzo al Volturno respectively; Cluniac influence in southern Italy; and the local tradition of 'monastic reform' which had been well established some 30 years before the arrival of Abbot Baldwin at Montecassino. It will be shown that the exemptions of Marinus were not papally inspired and that they had no effect on southern

monasticism in the tenth century, that Cluniac influence was limited and that of much more significance were the 'reforming' activities of the southern Italian monasteries with the aid of the Lombard princes of Capua.

A. Monasticism and the Holy See

i) Papal temporal and ecclesiastical claims on southern Italy

In the early middle ages the papacy directly administered a vast patrimony with its richest provinces securely based in southern Italy. However, the Holy See lost these southern territories as a result of the Byzantine revival in southern Italy under Justinian, and the onset of the Lombard invasions in the sixth century.[1] The history of Papal attempts to regain these southern possessions and to extend their ecclesiastical and temporal rule over certain regions within Italy and the subsequent development of this was very much dependent on papal relations with the Frankish monarchy in the eighth and ninth centuries.

It was as a direct consequence of papal dealings with the Franks, that the claims over the Holy See's southern Italian possessions were revived. In 754 Pope Stephen II (752-757) travelled to Ponthion to meet with Pepin the Frankish king. The main intention on the part

[1] P.Partner, The Lands of St.Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance. (London, 1972). Also; T.F.X.Noble, The Republic of St.Peter. The Birth of the Papal State (680-825). (Pennsylvania, 1984).

of the Pope was to enlist Frankish help against King Aistulf of the Lombards. However, during his stay at Ponthion Pope Stephen created Pepin patricianus Romanorum and also received a solemn promise from the Frank to hand over and restore extensive territories to the Holy See. The Donation of Quierzy (as this undertaking came to be known) was at the heart of papal claims to possession of territory within Italy for many years. In 774 Pope Hadrian I (772-795) requested that Charlemagne fulfil the promises made by Pepin in 754. Although the document which was drawn up on that occasion is no longer extant a list of the territories to be ceded to the papacy were recorded in the Liber Pontificalis:[1] significantly they included the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.

Papal ecclesiastical ideology also expanded at this time under a succession of influential popes; particularly Nicholas I (858-867), Hadrian II (867-872) and John VIII (872-882).[2] Among the developments which these popes advocated were the extension of papal claims to temporal sovereignty, the superiority of ecclesiastical rule over lay, a definition of the

[1] LP Vita Hadriani I p.498

[2] On the development of the ecclesiastical ideology of the Holy See in the ninth century see; W.Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages (Northampton, 1970). Also by the same author; A short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London, 1972). For a detailed discussion on the particular role of Pope Nicholas I ; Y.M-J Congar, 'S.Nicolas I: ses positions ecclesiologiques' RSCI 21 (1967) especially pp.393-402. G.Arnaldi, 'Mito e realità del secolo X romano e papale' SSCI 38 (1991) I pp.27-56.

relationship between the Holy See and the Empire and the papal hierocratic theme, and an attempt to exert papal superiority over all ecclesiastical matters.

Despite the fact that these ideological changes had progressed it is generally accepted that the importance of the ninth century in the history of the papacy lay in the precedents it established for the future. It is also understood that while the papacy had acquired temporal power in Rome and the surrounding territory it lacked the resources and political authority to wield that power successfully.

The stability of the papacy let alone the successful exploitation of its resources, depended heavily on its relations with the Carolingians and on the extent to which the Frankish emperors were willing to defend or advance papal claims. In short the papacy was only as effective as political relations with the Franks allowed it to be. The nature of the relationship between Franks and Papacy was a complex one but it was clear that without the total backing of the Carolingians papal political policies had little chance of success.

It was correspondingly true that from the papal standpoint much depended on the strength and stability of the Frankish monarchy. Throughout the ninth century the Carolingians were subject to internal divisions and external pressures which had a direct affect on the papacy. With the death of Charles the Bald in 877 and the

disintegration of the Frankish empire the papacy too began a rapid decline into what has been described as "depths which must be classed as unparalleled".[1]

The papal claims to territory in southern Italy which were articulated in the Donation of Quierzy in 754, the Donation of Constantine, and reaffirmed by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious and bolstered by the Pseudo-Isidorian Decrees, played a major part in papal relations with the Frankish kings and emperors. These claims were crucial to the papacy - a factor borne out by their continued reference to them in their policies with the Franks. However, the sources also indicate that the monasteries of southern Italy played no part in papal attempts to ratify their possession of these territories. On the contrary Papal attempts to have the rights of the Holy See recognized were conducted solely with the Frankish emperors. These claims on the part of the papacy were not expressed in any relations which the Holy See had with the monasteries, and indeed the relations between the papacy and the monasteries were in many ways low key.

Without full Carolingian support the Papacy could not hope to establish control over towns in the Benevetan principality. Not only did the Holy See lack the

[1] W.Ullmann op.cit., B.Schimmelpfennig has argued that it was the decline of the Frankish power in 877 which prevented Pope John VIII from being successful. B.Schimmelpfennig, The Papacy (New York, 1992).

necessary military forces which would be required for such an undertaken but also both the papacy and the Carolingians failed to recognised the strong sense of ethnic identity and independence which existed in southern Italy. Even with Frankish support the popes could not hope to gain possession of Beneventan towns. To the Lombards the pope was as much a foreign aggressor as the Carolingians.[1]

The promises made by Pepin and Charlemagne were later echoed in the treaty between Louis the Pious and Pope Paschal I in 817. Peter Partner has referred to this treaty as "the first well authenticated document to define the temporal power of the popes and their relations with the Frankish monarchy".[2] This pact listed the papal acquisitions as: Sora, Aquino, Arpino, Teano and Capua.[3] Basically the treaty of 817 gave the papacy Capua and the towns which controlled the road leading to it from Rome. These territories however, remained firmly under the control of Prince Sico of Benevento and it is pertinent to remember also that at no time did the papacy figure in the Lombard political machinations. For example, following Prince Sico's accession to the principate of Benevento in 817 he sent an ambassador to

[1] Thomas Noble in his work, The Republic of St Peter (see above) touched on the role of the local Lombard aristocracy in preventing the realisation of papal claims.

[2] P.Partner, op.cit, p.47.
[3] MGH Capit. I 35.B n.172.

Louis the Pious and promised him submission. Twelve years later, at Worms, another ambassador arrived from Benevento.[1] Both from the Lombard and the Papal standpoint therefore the claims and promises made and remade during the political negotiations between the papacy and the Frankish kings and emperors had no apparent effect in reality.

On the one hand the general trends outlined above; namely that despite agreements reached between Hadrian I and Charlemagne and later between Louis the Pious and Paschal I the popes in the first half of the ninth century had little affect on the south. However, the monasteries played no role in helping to consolidate or make acceptable the papal claims over the principalities of southern Italy.

ii) Direct Papal-Monastic Contacts

In recent years two scholars have argued that there was evidence to suggest that there were long and enduring contacts between the monasteries of southern Italy and the Holy See in the period following 774 and during the ninth century. Mario Del Treppo for example argued that the role played by the Holy See in monastic activity had increased following the Carolingian defeat of Desiderius in 774. Del Treppo argued for instance that the Carolingian military successes and the Carolingian

[1] Erchempert. c.10 . p.238.

expeditions in the south allowed the influence of the pope to be felt in the monasteries of Montecassino and S. Vincenzo al Volturno.[1] By way of illustration of his general hypothesis Del Treppo cited the evidence relating to the events which occurred in the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno in the early 780's, when both Pope Hadrian I and Charlemagne were involved in a quarrel over Abbot Poto's refusal to pray for the Frankish king.

Giorgio Picasso has also discussed these events at S.Vincenzo, and has argued that the support which Pope Hadrian I showed for Abbot Poto indicated a continuing attachment between the Apostolic See and the monastery.[2]

The events at S.Vincenzo in the 780's have been thoroughly discussed by a number of historians and it is not my intention to go over old ground, nonetheless a brief outline of the dispute is necessary at this

[1] M.Del Treppo, 'Longobardi Franchi e Papato in due secoli di storia Vulturnese' ASPN 72(1953-54) pp.37-59.

[2] G.Picasso, 'Il pontificato Romano e l'abbazia di San Vincenzo al Volturno', Una grande abbazia altomedievale nel Molise. San Vincenzo al Volturno a cura di Faustino Avagliano. Miscellanea Cassinese. 51 (Montecassino, 1985) pp.233-248. According to Picasso 'il papato aveva voluto il cenobio di S.vincenzo come un punto di forza, di presenza, in favore della Sede Apostolica al confine tra i ducati longobardi di Spoleto e di Benevento; e perché tale presenza fosse più incisiva si intutì quale vantaggio ne sarebbe derivato proprio dall' appartanenza di quei monaci, a cominciare dai loro stessi fondatori, alla gente longobarda beneventana' p.242. Picasso's other arguments will be discussed below.

juncture.[1] On the 5 November 782 Poto was elected abbot of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. In less than a year (sometime after April 783) he was deposed by Charlemagne. In a letter from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne we learn that Poto was accused of infidelitas in confrontation with the Frankish king and deposed. The pope wrote that accusations against the abbot were unfounded and false and requested that Poto be returned to office. Evidently Charlemagne did not accept this and in a second letter it is clear that the issue is to go before a papal iudicium and that Poto was accused of refusing to pray for the king of the Franks. After three days of debate the case was not proven and Poto was returned to office.[2]

Although the full background as to how these events were initiated is not known it is clear that Poto or a section of his supporters must have appealed to Pope Hadrian I for the latter to take up their case with Charlemagne. However, both Picasso and Del Treppo neglect

[1] The fundamental works which discuss the Poto incident in detail are: M.Del Treppo (as above) O.Bertolini, 'Carlomagno e Benevento' in H.Beumann (ed) Karl der Grosse I (Düsseldorf, 1965) pp.609-71.

[2] MGH Epp. III. Codex Carolinus numbers 66 and 67 pp.593-597. These two letters addressed from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne are our main source of information on the abbot Poto incident. These letters have added significance since they also demonstrate the presence of both Frankish and Lombard monks at S.Vincenzo during the eighth century. In the second letter, which has been dated to January 784, it was declared that 10 monks from S.Vincenzo swore on oath that Abbot Poto was innocent of the charges brought against him; the 10 monks comprised; "quinque ex genere Francorum et quinque ex genere Langobardorum". (Cod.Car.p.596).

the fact that the monks only appeal to the pope in circumstances which were unique and untypical. Charlemagne was rex langobardorum, he had crushed the Lombard kingdom in 774 and was pressing hard on the principality of Benevento. There was quite simply no other authority to whom the monks could turn in order to win support for their case. Moreover, the pope was always regarded and revered as the highest ranking 'priest' and as such ecclesiastics in extreme cases, could and did often turn to him for judgement in certain law suits.[1]

However, in the example of the Poto incident a number of points must be borne in mind; firstly the whole issue was not papally inspired - the Lombard monks had cajolled Hadrian I into action. The whole episode did not illustrate continuing links between S.Vincenzo and the Papacy - on the contrary it was one instance which illustrated the point that any cleric could turn to the pope when they felt their position threatened with no other protector. It did not indicate a special or increasing relationship between the Holy See and southern Italy.

G.Picasso also looked at two other events which, he argued, reflected significant moments in the history of the monastery's relations with the Holy See: the early traditions concerning the founders of the monastery and

[1] G.Tellenbach, The Church in Western Europe From the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century. (Cambridge, 1993) p.23.

the papal privilege purported to have been issued by John VIII in favour of S.Vincenzo.

Firstly, he highlighted what he considered to be the role played by the papacy in persuading the founders of the monastery, Paldo, Tato and Taso, to leave Rome, return to southern Italy via the monastery of Farfa where they would learn the monastic discipline, and return to southern Italy to found a new monastery. Although the lives of these Beneventan nobles clearly indicates that the chief influence on them was the Frank, Thomas of Morienna, Picasso argues that they were also heavily influenced by the pontiff who was, at that time, concerned with the advance of the Lombards in the Papal Campania thus threatening the security of the Holy See. Picasso argued that the pope's desire for the Beneventans to found a monastery in Southern Italy was:

> Un disegno, dunque, della Sede Apostolica che poteva anche ambire a ricuperare attraverso la fondazione del monastero il controllo sulle circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche del Beneventano; controllo che le era sfuggito di mano con l'insediamento dei duchi longobardi[1]

Even though this is no more than supposition, there is still no real indication of close contacts between S.Vincenzo and the Holy See. The possibility that Pope John VI may have had a hand in advising Paldo, Tato and Taso to return to southern Italy is of little consequence for Papal/Monastic relations in the ninth century. furthermore it is not clear how the pope would extend his

[1] G.Picasso, op.cit., p.239.

control over the ecclesiastical structures of southern Italy through founding a monastery. Monasteries in general and S.Vincenzo in particular were not to come under direct papal protection until the tenth century. Prior to that they were fully part of each regional power triangle consisting of monastery, abbot and duke.

Thirdly he picked up on the entry in the prologue of the Chronicon Vulturnense which records that Pope John VIII issued a privilege in favour of the monastery and Abbot Maio.[11] Both Giorgio Picasso and Vincenzo Federici have accepted that this entry referred to a genuine document which is now missing. Federici actually lists it among those documents which he believed pertained to S.Vincenzo but which are now known to be lost. Picasso further argued that the tenor of the missing document could be hypothesised by studying the extant privilege charter which Pope John VIII issued in favour of the monastery of Montecassino on 22 May 882. Picasso argued that this missing document was significant in so far as it indicated the continuing relations between the Holy See and the community of S.Vincenzo, despite little evidence to suggest this between 781 and 881, as he wrote,

> Per quanto riguarda il tema di questa comunicazione, dal 781 circa, quando si ebbe l'assoluzione di Potone da parte del papa Adriano I, all'881, l'anno della "destructio", per un secolo, non sono pervenuti a noi documenti sicuri di diretti interventi di papi verso il loro monastero volturnense. Ma la notizia del privilegio di Giovanni VIII concesso proprio intorno a quegli anni, è senz'altro conferma di continuità nella alleanza tra Roma e il cenobio: anche per questo preciso

significato ne ho già sottolineato il valore, pur in mancanza del testo.[1]

However, Picasso's thesis that John VIII's privilege to S.Vincenzo indicated a continuing alliance between that monastery and the Holy See requires a re-assessment.

As indicated above Picasso based his statement on a short entry in the prologue to the Chronicon Vulturnense, the entry simply reads: Privilegium tercium Iohannis pape octavi Maioni abbati datum. [2] Vincenzo Federici clearly accepted that the entry referred to an actual charter and listed the privilege as one of the monastery's missing documents.[3] G.Picasso simply accepts Federici's assumptions. His argument however is rather circumspect: he declares that the privilege probably emanated from the papal chancery not long before the Saracen attack. Its veracity is based to a large extent on the fact that there is an extant authentic privilege which was issued in favour of the monastery of Montecassino in May 882. However, it does not follow that since John VIII issued a privilege in favour of the latter monastery he must also have issued a similar one for S.Vincenzo.

Furthermore there are a number of crucial factors which Picasso failed to take into consideration. Firstly

[1] G.Picasso, op.cit., pp.243-244.
[2] CV I p.32.
[3] CV III p.144.

the date of the Montecassino privilege has been firmly established to 22 May 882 over a year after the monastery of S.Vincenzo had been sacked by the Saracens. If John VIII had issued a privilege in favour of S.Vincenzo then it would have had to have been granted before the one which was issued in favour of Montecassino since it was unlikely that he would issue a privilege charter in favour of a monastery after it had been sacked by the Saracens. Picasso himself was no doubt aware of the unlikelihood of such an event and therefore dated the S.Vincenzo document somewhat loosely to the 'eve' of the Saracen assault.

However, it is also highly unlikely that the pope would have issued a privilege in favour of S.Vincenzo prior to issuing one to Montecassino. For example, the image and prestige of Montecassino was always greater than the other monasteries in the whole of Europe let alone southern Italy and it would, by dint of that prestige, have attracted the attention of the pope more readily than S.Vincenzo. Furthermore, as Peter Partner rightly noted, the Holy See was particularly concerned to make Capua into a vassal state. This goal which traced its origins back to the period of the Donation of Quierzy in 754, had received a further boost in 876 at the Synod of Ponthion when Charles the Bald confirmed 'the old claims of the Holy See to rights of overlordship in

Capua'.[1] This meant appeasement and 'domination' of the Capuan ruling house and establishing the Holy See's authority over the whole Capuan region. This design would necessarily draw the pope into the political orbit of the great abbey of Montecassino which dominated the Capuan landscape. Contrary to the claims espoused by Picasso and Federici there is little direct evidence which would lead us to believe that the entry in the above prologue indicated the existence of a genuine charter. On the contrary the possibility that John VIII issued a privilege in favour of S.Vincenzo more than a year prior to the one issued to Montecassino must be treated with a very high degree of improbability.

What of the charter itself ? What was its significance? In short, the privilege issued by John VIII in favour of Montecassino was neither unique nor, in the short term, effectual. Much of the ground work for papal exemptions had been established by Pope Nicholas I, in particular the privilege he issued in favour of Vézelay sometime between 863 and 868.[2] John VIII had subsequently issued similar privileges in 878 for the monasteries of Saint-Gilles-du-Rhône and Charroux.[3] The charter of privilege for Montecassino must therefore be seen in the

[1] P.Partner, op.cit.
[2] H.E.J.Cowdrey, The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform (Oxford, 1970) p.14.

[3] C.Bouchard, 'Merovingian, Carolingian and Cluniac Monasticism: Reform and Renewal in Burgundy' JEH 41 (1990) pp.365-388.

context of a series of similar privileges issued by the papacy for a number of monasteries throughout Christendom. Once again there was no implication of a 'special relationship' between the papacy and south Italian monasteries. Moreover, such privileges were not papally inspired but were requested by the recipient abbots.[1]

There is good reason to suppose that Abbot Bertharius requested the privilege form John VIII. The sack of S.Vincenzo al Volturno in 881 must have raised contemporary awareness of the inability of the Lombards to prevent the Arabs from pillaging at will. Bertharius was thus seeking for some security over Montecassino's territorial possessions. It must also be remembered that the Civil War and the increase in Arab pillaging had placed a great strain on monastic treasuries. Bertharius may, therefore, have been seeking exemption from both ecclesiastical and temporal 'taxation'. In any event, John VIII's charter had little effect: the monastery of Montecassino was sacked and Abbot Bertharius killed by the Arabs barely one year after the document issued. Moreover Montecassino was to remain under the yoke of the counts and princes of Capua, and continued to pay temporal 'taxes' for much of the tenth century.

John VIII was concerned, above all, with organising a

[1] In 887 the author, Erchempert, was sent by Abbot Angelarius of Montecassino to Rome to request a papal privilege form Pope Stephen VI. Erchempert. c.69. p.261.

Christian coalition against the Saracens of south Italy.[1] In this context he wrote numerous letters to the leaders of the south Italian towns as he struggled to form a military alliance among all the Christian powers. Letters were sent to the dukes of Gaeta and Naples, to the princes of Salerno and Benevento and the counts of Capua. He also wrote to bishops urging them to enlist the support of their local lords in a campaign against the Arabs. In all of John VIII's political manoeuvering in southern Italy the monasteries played no part. Clearly he did not conceive of monasteries, or of abbots as possible vehicles for political or social coercion. The great monasteries of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino simply did not figure in John VIII's political outlook.[2]

The same can also be said of John VIII's tenth

[1] The fundamental analysis of John VIII's Arab 'crusade' remains the article by F.Engreen which was published in 1945 (see above). For a broader based discussion of John VIII's pontificate see, A.Lapôtre, Études sur la papauté au IXe siècle. " 2 vols. (Torino, 1978) especially, vol.2. pp.67-422. Also, G.Arnaldi, 'Papato, arcivescovi e vescovi nell'età post-carolingia' in Vescovi e Diocesi in Italia nel Medioevo (sec.IX-XIII) (Padova, 1964) pp.27-53.

[2] Although John VIII failed to build up a system of functional alliances, F.Engreen was mistaken in suggesting that "by mistakes of his [John VIII's] policy of alliances , central Italy was much more threatened at the time of his murder than at his election" F.Engreen, op.cit., p.329. Central Italy's weakness lay in its inherent political divisiveness. John VIII can not be said to have aggravated that damaging political reality of central and south Italy.

century successor John X (914-928).[1] The latter's role in the campaign which ended with the annihilation of the Arab forces based at the mouth of the Garigliano in 915 has too often been exaggerated. Gerd Tellenbach, for example, claimed that John X's pontificate "with its major victories against the Saracens made him probably the most important pope of the century apart from Silvester II".[2]

However, in assessing John X's contribution to the campaign it is difficult to disagree with Barabara Kreutz who has argued that his role in the episode was minimal.[3] Certainly the fact that he had been in office for less than a year indicates that he played only a small part in the long process of organising a coalition against the Arabs.[4] Furthermore, the account of the Garigliano campaign in the Chronica Monasterii Casinensis emphasizes the role of the house of Capua in winning Byzantine support. It was Atenolf I who sent his son Landolf to Constantinople in 910 to entreat the Emperor Leo for help against the south Italian Arabs. When

[1] For a general introduction to John X's pontificate and his period in office as archbishop of Ravenna see, R.Savigni, 'Sacerdozio e regno in età post-carolingia: l'episcopato di Giovanni X, Arcivescovo di Ravenna (905-914) e Papa (914-928), RSCI 46 (1992) pp.1-29.

[2] G.Tellenbach, op.cit., p.70.
[3] B.Kreutz, op.cit., pp.77-78.
[4] Although John X did secure the support of Gaeta in 915, (Kehr Italia Pontificia VIII pp.83-84.) this must be set against the decade of negotiations which had been conducted by the Capuans with the Byzantines.

Atenolf died these negotiations were carried forward by his sons Landolf I and Atenolf II.[1] Clearly the lead in the Garigliano campaign was taken by the House of Capua and not the Papacy. John X cannot be said, therefore to have had any perceptible effect on the monasteries of southern Italy. The change in circumstances which followed the Garigliano victory and allowed communities such as S.Vincenzo al Volturno to return to the original monastic site were inspired and championed by the southern Lombard princes of Capua.

Conclusion

The relationship between the monasteries of Lombard southern Italy and the Papacy in the ninth and early tenth centuries was not a close one. On the part of the papacy there is no evidence to suggest suggest a direct relationship before the privilege issued by John VIII in favour of Montecassino in 882. During the first three quarters of the ninth century the Papacy was more concerned in defining its relationship with the Frankish emperors. The papal patrimony in the Lombard principalities and the papal claims on these territories was merely one other factor among many in the continuing negotiations between emperor and pope. This is not to deny the earnestness with which the Holy See pursued its south Italian claims , and thus the issue continually appeared in the negotiations with the Franks. The

[1] CC c.52. pp.133-134.

recalcitrance of the Lombards in not handing over complete control of their territory was a continual source of irritation. However the papacy lacked the necessary resources to fully exploit its claims to Lombard territory and the Franks for their part were not keen for the Holy See to have a firm foothold in the south. Furthermore, the Holy See did not perceive the monasteries themselves as an effective mechanism through which to exert a covert political influence.

On the part of the southern Italian monks they did not consider the Papacy to have a role in southern Italy, either in the wider political context or in the history of the monasteries themselves. For example, Popes rarely appear in south Italian narrative chronicles. Even John VIII who toured Campania in 876, during his efforts to organise an anti-Muslim coalition is only mentioned with passing interest in the chronicles. Indeed in the Chronicon Sancti Benedicti which was written by a contemporary Cassinese monk, John VIII is not mentioned. Clearly papal politics and John VIII's travels in southern Italy were of little interest or significance for the southern Lombard monks of the ninth century. Moreover, when the abbots of both Montecassino and S.Vincenzo al Volturno sought help against the rising Arab incursions it was to the Empire that they turned and not to the papacy which played a minor role in monastic development in southern Italy during the ninth century.

B. Monasticism and the Tenth Century Reform

Huguette Taviani-Carozzi in her comprehensive study of the principality of Salerno included a section on church reform in southern Italy.[1] Although the major part of her analysis concentrated on events in the eleventh century Taviani-Carozzi's argument began with a short discussion on the contacts between the monasteries of Lombard southern Italy and St.Odo of Cluny and his followers , Baldwin, Aligern and John of Salerno.[2]

Evidently for Taviani-Carozzi the tenth century 'monastic reform' was a matter which was intimately associated with the monastery of Cluny and, in particular, its second abbot, Odo(926-942). However, the view that 'monastic reform' was a result entirely of a new spirituality as personified in the abbots of Cluny has been modified in recent years, particularly through the works of Kassius Hallinger who has demonstrated that Cluny was only one among many centres of monastic reform.[3] More recently this argument has also been echoed by Giles Constable in an article in which he concluded that 'much of what has been regarded as characteristically Cluniac only emerged towards the end

[1] H.Taviani-Carozzi, La Principauté Lombarde de Salerne (IXe-XIe) (Rome 1991) II pp.949-1086.

[2] Ibid., p.1042.

[3] K.Hallinger, 'Gorze-Kluny' Studia Anselmiana 22-25, (Rome,1950).

of the tenth century'.[1] Joachim Wollasch also pointed out that Cluniac reform was no different from other monastic reform movements in the tenth century.[2]

Much, of course depended on what was understood by the term 'monastic reform' and increasingly historians are coming to recognise the limited value of the phrase. G.Tellenbach, for example, claimed that there had always been 'monastic reforms' and that 'what was understood by it varied greatly'.[3] Michel Margue has also argued that 'monastic reform' was not a useful term since as a historical phenomenon it was open to diverse interpretations.[4]

There is still a broad consensus, however, regarding the main aspects of what may be termed a 'reform', these are:

1. repairing, rebuilding and refounding monasteries,
2. recovery of monastic property,
3. restoring religious discipline and ,
4. re-establishing the material resources of the

[1] G.Constable, 'Cluny in the Monastic World of the Tenth Century' SSCI 38 (1991) p.394.

[2] J.Wollasch, Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt (Munich, 1973).

[3] G.Tellenbach, The Church in Western Europe From the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century. (Cambridge, 1993) p.109.

[4] M.Margue 'Aspects Politiques de la "Réforme" monastique en Lotharingie. Le cas de Abbayes de Saint-Maximin de Trèves, de Stavelot-Malmédy et d'Echternach (934-973) RB 98 (1988) pp.31-61.

monastery.[1]

When one considers these aspects of 'reform' it is clear that such a process of renewal was well under way in southern Italy (which covered all of these features) prior to the Cluniac association with Montecassino. The congregation of the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno, for example had returned to the original monastic site in c.914/16, and had begun the long process of regaining the territories it had lost after the Arab attack on the monastery (881) at an early date.[2]

Contrary to Taviani-Carozzi's assumptions 'monastic reform' in southern Italy must be assessed under two headings: Cluniac reform and local reform. The following discussion takes that form and in section one the nature and significance of the Cluniac influence in southern Italy will be assessed. The second section concentrates on the local 'reform movement' and, in particular its relationship to, and dependence on the ruling House of Capua. It will be demonstrated that Cluniac influence had limited effect on southern Italian monasticism - primarily because the aspects of southern monastic history which

[1] M.Parisse, 'Noblesse et monastères en Lotharingie du IXe au XIe siècle' Monastische Reformen Im 9. und 10 Jahrhundert (ed) Raymund Kottje und Helmut Maurer. (Sigmaringen, 1989) p.184. J.Howe, 'The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church' AHR 93(1988) p.317. G.Tellenbach, op.cit., p.109.

[2] The significance of S.Vincenzo's activities in re-establishing the territorial possessions of the monastery is discussed below.

have to date been explained in terms of a Cluniac influence, were already present in the south, at least two decades before Abbot Odo's arrival in Rome. Secondly, it will be evident that the local 'reform' impulse was of greater significance than the Cluniac, because it was championed by the princes of Capua who continually encouraged the restoration and revitalisation of the monastic territorial economic basis as they stood to gain both culturally and economically from a restored monastic structure.

Cluniac Influence in Southern Italy

In considering Cluniac influence in southern Italy in the tenth century the discussion necessarily focuses on four individuals: Abbot Odo of Cluny, his biographer John of Salerno, and the abbots, Baldwin and Aligern of Montecassino. The initial impulse for Cluniac involvement in Italian affairs however came from Prince Alberic of Rome (932-954) who, in 936, invited Odo of Cluny to the Petrine city in order to reform the Roman monasteries.[1] However, historians remain divided in considering Alberic's motives for advocating Cluniac reform in Rome. Raffaello Morghen, for example, has argued that political

[1] Prince Alberic has been describes as "the most avid single supporter of Cluniac reform in the tenth century". B.Rosenwein, Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century (Philadelphia, 1982) p.49. The best assessment of Odo's work in Rome remains, G.Arnaldi, 'Il biografo "romano" di Oddone di Cluny' BISI 71 (1959) pp.1-37.

goals were the main inspiration behind the prince's actions.[1] On the other hand, Bernard Hamilton has asserted that Alberic was primarily motivated by pious considerations.[2]

Despite the conflict of opinion over the discussion of Alberic's motives for seeking monastic reform most commentators agree on the reason which inspired Odo himself to journey to Rome. These were well summed up by Morghen who wrote that:

> The 'winning of souls' not 'involvement in affairs' was, ... the principal aim which drove Odo to undertake four very exhausting journeys to Rome between 933 and 940, ... and to spread in the monasteries of Rome and Italy concern for the spiritual renewal which preoccupied him.[3]

In Rome Odo used the monastery of S.Paul's as a base for his operations and appointed a Frank, Baldwin as abbot of the house.[4] A certain John (Odo's biographer) a Roman by birth and canon at the time of Odo's first visit to the city was converted to the ideals of reform by the Abbot of Cluny, and made prior of the reformed monastery of S.Paul's. Widely regarded as one of Odo's first disciples in Rome John, together with the Frank Baldwin

[1] R.Morghen, 'monastic Reform and Spirituality' in Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages (ed) N,Hunt (London, 1971) pp.11-28.

[2] B,Hamilton, 'Monastic Revival in Tenth century Rome' Studia Monastica 4 (1962) pp.35-68.

[3] R.Morghen, op.cit., p.17.

[4] Baldwin later also became abbot of S.Maria on the Aventine and Montecassino. See, Vita Sancti Odinis II c.21. Migne. PL 133. p.72.

were the two main channels for disseminating the Cluniac ideals in southern Italy. Unfortunately, the sources are silent on how exactly Baldwin and John were appointed as abbots of southern monasteries. The Chronica Monasterii Casinensis simply records that Baldwin was appointed abbot of Montecassino when the princes Landolf I (901-43), Atenolf III (933-45) and Landolf II (939-61) ruled in Capua. John of Salerno's Vita Odonis makes no reference whatsoever to Baldwin as abbot of Montecassino.[1]

Although information is limited Don Tommaso Leccisotti has made a short study of the influence indirectly exerted by Odo through his followers, such as Baldwin. He argued that while Odo's influence was felt, above all, in the Roman duchy, it was also found at Montecassino.[2]

In the case of Montecassino, Leccisotti argued that Baldwin's most significant contribution was to give rise to the plan of returning the Cassinese congregation to the original monastic site on Montecassino. Baldwin

[1] Considering the role that the Lombard princes had in appointing abbots to the monasteries (see Part II, Section B, above) it is highly probable that Landolf I may have invited baldwin to become abbot of Montecassino.

[2] 'Naturalmente l'operosità risanatrice di Oddone si esplicò soprattutto e più direttamente nell'ambito del ducato romano, ma penetrò anche al di fuori di esso, ad esempio a Montecassino'. T.Leccisotti 'Una lacuna della storia di Montecassino al secolo X', in Studia benedictina in memoriam gloriosi ante Saecula XIV transitus S.P.Benedicti (vatican, 1947) pp.273-281.

decided on this course of action, according to Leccisotti, primarily on account of his desire to evade the influences of the Capuan Lombard princes who at that time would have been perceived by the abbot as obstacles to reform within the community.[1] Although Baldwin himself did not live to participate in the return of the community to the site at Montecassino the scheme was carried to fruition by one of his successors and followers; Abbot Aligern.[2] Aligern was the son of a Neapolitan nobleman and left the town to be a novice in the monastery of S.Maria on the Aventine, whose abbot at that time was the above mentioned Baldwin. Bernard Hamilton has referred to Aligern as 'the most distinguished disciple of the first generation of Roman monastic reformers' who in 949 became abbot of Montecassino.[3]

There is a degree of confusion over the the name of the monastery where Aligern was a novice. Bernard Hamilton holds that it was the monastery of S.Maria on the Aventine while Herbert Bloch argued that it was the monastery of S.Paul's. Whatever the case it was evident that Aligern was a devout follower of the teachings of

[1] 'Tuttavia l'opera riformatrice incontrava a Capua, ed era naturale, ostacoli nei maggiori interessati, i principi. Fu perciò che Baldovino decise di non indugiare più oltre a ricidere il male dalle radici, riportando la comunità a Montecassino.' T.Leccisotti, op.cit., p.277.

[2] CC c.60, pp.151-152. On the election of Aligernus.
[3] B.Hamilton, op.cit., p.51.

the reform movement as espoused by Odo. Aligern certainly played a central role in returning the Cassinese congregation to its original site. As Bloch maintained:

> 'It was the intervention of the Abbot Odo of Cluny which brought about the return of the congregation to Montecassino. The Neapolitan Aligern, who had been a monk of S.Paulo fuori le Mura in Rome under Abbot Baldwin and "like him" a disciple of Odo, followed Baldwin to Montecassino when the latter was made abbot there under Odo's influence.[1]

It is unknown when Aligern decided to return to Montecassino considering that the monastery would have to be rebuilt first. Nevertheless, most commentators agree that the impulse to return to Montecassino and to leave Capua and the monastery of S.Benedict which had been built by abbot John as the official home of the congregation and which was very much within the influential orbit of the Capuan princes, was directly due to the influence of Odo of Cluny. Apart from successfully ensuring the return of the Cassinese congregation to Montecassino it has also been claimed that Aligern's significant contribution to the tenth century development of the monastery was the 'dogged efforts with which he successfully regained the possessions lost by the abbey during the period of exile".[2]

Thus as far as the historians of Montecassino are concerned the most dramatic and perceptible examples of a

[1] H.Bloch, 'Montecassino's teachers and library in the High Middle Ages', SSCI 19 (1972) p.574.

[2] H.Bloch, op.cit., p.576.

Cluniac reform impulse in southern Italy was the return of the congregation to Montecassino and the efforts of Aligern in regaining the abbey's lost possessions. However, when these two factors are viewed in the context of monastic development in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy their significance is diminished.

The congregation of S.Vincenzo al Volturno for example returned to its original monastic site in 914/16 almost twenty years prior to Odo's first visit to Rome. Furthermore, the abbots of S.Vincenzo had fought long to retain the monastery's possessions in the face of a contentious Lombard nobility in the ninth century, and had struggled for many years before the election of Abbot Aligern to the Abbacy of Montecassino, to regain its own possessions which had been lost after the Arabs sacked the monastery. That is not to say that the return of the community of Montecassino to its original site in 950 was not of significance for that particular monastery, clearly it was in so far as it removed the abbey from the immediate environment of the Capuan ruling house thereby allowing the abbots a free hand in organising the abbey's own internal affairs.

However it should be remembered that the two significant elements in Montecassino's history which historians have linked to Odo and his reform ethos (return to the site and fight to regain territory) were

not new phenomena in southern Italy; both of these factors were in evidence in the case of S.Vincenzo many years before Odo came to Italy. Thus although these elements can be said to have been a logical extension of the ideas expressed by Odo they cannot be said to have been wholly and innately dependent on the Cluniac reform ethos. Such actions could and did develop outwith the sphere of Cluniac influence both from the chronological and geographical viewpoints. It is also of no little significance that Aligern hailed from Naples and it must be remembered that S.Vincenzo had possessions in that town. It is not too extreme to suggest that Aligern may have known of the activities of the S.Vincenzo abbots and monks before his departure for Rome.

It can also be argued, however, that the 'Cluniac' abbot, Baldwin of Montecassino, inspired the papal privileges which were issued in favour of both Montecassino and S.Vincenzo al Volturno by Pope Marinus II (942-946) in 944. It is clear from the Chronica Monasterii Casinensis that Abbot Baldwin travelled to Rome, at least once after his election to the abbatial office,[1] and it is probable that during the visit he requested an exemption privilege from pope Marinus.[2] However, as in the case of the charters of exemption

[1] CC c.57. pp.143-145.
[2] For the privileges of 944 see:-
Montecassino;- Migne PL 133. col.867-869.
S.Vincenzo;- Migne PL 133. col.869-873.

issued by Pope John VIII in the ninth century, Marinus II's privileges of 944 had little effect on the monasteries of Lombard southern Italy.

For example, in the pope's charter to Montecassino and Abbot Baldwin he confirmed the abbey's possession of the convent of S.Sophia at Benevento: imo et monasterium sanctae Sophiae quod infra civitatem Beneventanam aedificatum est.[1] However it was not long after that date that the convent of S.Sophia was withdrawn from the control of Montecassino and established as an independent house for monks under the rule of an abbot. This development had been advocated by the Capuan/Beneventan princes who quite clearly cared little for the details of Marinus' privilege to Abbot Baldwin.

Similarly in the case of S.Vincenzo it can be shown that control of daughter houses whose subjugation to the mother house appeared in Marinus' charter could be, and often was disputed. For example in his bull which was issued in March 944 Marinus confirmed S.Vincenzo's possession of the monasteries of S.Salvatore in Alife and S.Maria in Apinianici. Despite the terms of this confirmation, however, the possession of these two monasteries was disputed throughout the tenth century. In 949 and 950 respectively the ownership of S. Salvatore was contested between John the Bishop of Benevento and Abbot Leo of S.Vincenzo. Similarly a series of documents

[1] Migne PL 133 col.868.

printed in the Chronicon Vulturnense refer to the dispute over S.Maria in Apinianici. Curiously in none of these contests did the abbot of S.Vincenzo refer to Marinus' privilege as a marker of his right of ownership.

Furthermore, G.Tellenbach has argued that although papal exemptions were an ill defined institution they were in the first instance a financial privilege.[1] However, in the case of both Montecassino and S.Vincenzo it can be demonstrated that the monasteries continued to pay temporal rents to lay lords long after 944.[2]

Two general points can be made with regard to Abbot Baldwin and Marinus II's privileges. Firstly, as in the ninth century, Baldwin was not unique in requesting a papal exemption privilege, and secondly the exemption itself was entirely ineffectual.

What can John of Salerno's Vita Odonis tell us about the influence of the Cluniac monastic reform movement in southern Italy? Firstly, one has to be careful when using John's Life on a number of counts; first of all, he was a Roman and not a southern Lombard, therefore we cannot accept the views expressed by John as an indication of the general views held or expressed by the south Italian monastic community. Secondly John was a convinced reformer and his Vita Odonis reflects this bias.

[1] G.Tellenbach, op.cit., p.115.
[2] See Section C local 'monastic reform' and the House of Capua, below.

Furthermore his evidence was that of one man and we should be wary of accepting this as an expression of the ideals held by the majority of the monastic communities in the south.

Nevertheless even when taking all these factors into consideration John's Life does provide some insight into the nature and extent of the monastic reform movement as it was experienced in southern Italy during the second quarter of the tenth century. Most notably in his prologue he indicates that Odo was known and respected among the monks in his own monastery of S.Benedict and in the town of Salerno itself;

> Interea contigit die quadam mecum adesse virum venerabilem domnum Adhelradum confratrem nostrum, unaque cum eo sacri Salernitati palatii exactorem Ioannem, qui infirmitatis meae toleratiam providentis, coeperunt mihi sanctissimi patris nostri domni Odonis piam et venerabilem eximiamque inserere memoriam, scientes prae omnibus semper mihi pium esse atque dulce, vel aliis aliquid de eo narrare, vel meae utilitati quiddam conferre.[1]

Although this clearly reveals an interest in Odo on the part of some southern Italian monks it does not indicate that they were interested in his activities as a reformer. Their regard for Odo was probably inspired simply on account of his fame as a Holy Man. It must also be remembered that Salerno was very much in the sphere of influence of John himself. It is to be expected therefore that he actively encouraged an interest in the life and work of his mentor, Odo. It cannot, therefore,

[1] Vita Sancti Odonis. Migne PL 133 col.43-44.

be argued that this request made by Adelrad and John of the Sacred palace indicated an interest in Odo throughout southern Italy.

It is certainly evident that the main elements of Cluniac reform were not unique to that abbey and that similar reforms were under way in southern Italy prior to Cluniac association with Italian affairs. The Cluniacs, therefore, had a limited effect on the development of monasticism in southern Italy in the tenth century. The return of the congregation to Montecassino , and the efforts of Abbot Aligern in regaining alienated monastic property has too often been seen outwith its true south Italian context where such activity was part of a long established tradition before the arrival of the Cluniacs.

C. Local Monastic Reform and the House of Capua

It will be demonstrated in this section that the princes of Capua supported a monastic 'reform' in southern Italy from an early date.[1] All of the Capuan princes from 900 onwards, for example, issued privileges and confirmations in favour of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino. They also continued to donate property to the abbeys and to encourage and support them in regaining lost territory and in revitalising the economic basis of their vast estates. The role of the aristocracy in supporting and advocating monastic reform was, of course, a European phenomenon in the tenth century.[2] John Howe, who has studied Cluniac reform, has argued that the nobility played a central role in all reform movements.[3] He further claimed that nobles began by rebuilding the monasteries which had been destroyed in the wars and invasions of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, and also maintained that "noble interest in reform stemmed from salvation".[4]

The evidence for tenth century southern Italy

[1] In this context the main elements of monastic activity which indicate reform are those listed above.

[2] See; C.Bouchard,'Merovingian, Carolingian and Cluniac Monasticism: Reform and renewal in Burgundy' JEH 41 (1990) pp.365-388. Also, M.Parisse,'Princes laiques et/ou moines, les évêques du Xe siècle' SSCI 38 (1991) I pp.448-516.

[3] J.Howe,'The nobility's reform of the medieval church' AHR 93 (1988) pp.317-339.

[4] J.Howe, op.cit., p.332.

supports Howe's first two premisses; that is that the nobility played a crucial role in monastic reform, and that at first they were concerned with re-establishing old houses rather than founding new monasteries. However, when it comes to assessing the nobility's motives for advocating reform it becomes apparent that the Capuan princes stood to gain financially from a restored monastery, and that this factor must have been of major significance in impelling the princes to encourage monastic reform in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy in the tenth century.

Political Background - Capuan Power

Ever since the days of Arichis one of the major problems which faced the Lombard princes was the lack of a firmly defined primogeniture system and the resulting lack of a strong dynasty. The Capuan house solved this problem to a degree by encouraging a system of joint rule among the members of the ruling family, thus dissipating the possibility of internal family rivalry. At one point during the 930's political power was shared by three Capuan princes.[1] This defused potential frictions within the the ruling family and spread power on a wide basis within a single kingroup.

Partly as a consequence of the rule of the Capuan

[1] On 12 January 936 Landolf II (901-943), Atenolf II (910-940) and Atenolf III (933-940) granted the church of S.Giovanni to the priest Odilprand. Ughelli., IS VIII col.48-50.

family the first six decades of the tenth century were relatively quiet as the south was held by two distinct power bases: Salerno and Capua/Benevento. There was also a subtle change in the mechanics of royal elections. Throughout the entire ninth century as each new ruler came to the throne of either Salerno or Benevento the notices of their accession to the crown in the sources was almost invariably accompanied with the phrase electus est.[1] It had been evident since the days of Grimoald III that each prince had been 'elected' to the Royal office by a faction of the leading nobility. Indeed without the support of a substantial faction of the nobility a prince had little hope of surviving let alone ruling effectively. It was an alienated nobility, for example, which was responsible for the murders of Grimoald IV and Sicard. This heavy dependence on the aristocracy also raised the Lombard throne as a legitimate prize for any member of the nobility who felt that he could win enough support to secure his 'election' to the office of prince in the event of a successful coup.

However the full reasons for the relative stability of the region during the first decades of the tenth century was linked to a number of factors: the final defeat of the Arabs based on the Garigliano in 915; the sharing of political power as mentioned above; and

[1] B.Kreutz. op.cit.,p.96.

the absence of any serious external military threats[1]

After Atenolf I's death in 910 Capua-Benevento was jointly ruled by his sons Landolf I(901-943) and Atenolf II(910-940). And following their deaths in the 940's the succession passed to Landolf II (943-961) son of Landolf I who had already been nominated as co-ruler along with his brother Atenolf III(933-943). With the death of Landolf I and Atenolf II in 943 Landolf II alone was left to assume the reigns of power, although he would soon designate his own son Pandolf as co-ruler.

Pandolf I 'Ironhead' was the most powerful Lombard ruler of southern Italy since the death of Arichis II in 787. He inherited the dual principality of Capua-Benevento in 961 although he had been joint signatory to some of his father's and brother's charters since 958. Under Otto I he was made the Duke of Spoleto. And following the death of Gisolf I of Salerno in 977, the Capuan prince inherited that town also. It does not fall within the scope of this thesis to analyse the mechanisms by which Pandolf managed to accumulate such

[1] Following the collapse and fragmentation of the Carolingian Empire in the late ninth century no further northen powers were of sufficient strenghth to pose a threat to the lombards until the Ottonians. The late ninth century was also the period of the apogee of Byzantine resurgence in southern Italy, and the power vacuum in Benevento when the Greeks left in the last decade on the ninth century enabled Atenolf to obtain the Beneventan throne.

territorial wealth and authority.[1]

The career of Pandolf in southern Italy and his position in European politics was intimately bound up with his relationship with the German emperor Otto I. Pandolf committed himself to Otto from an early stage in his reign. In 962 he had endeared himself to Otto by capturing the fleeing Pope John XII who was hoping to escape to Constantinople.[2] Afterwards Pandolf also sheltered Pope John XIII who had been Otto's appointee as pope and who had been driven from Rome. For these actions Pandolf was duly rewarded and sometime prior to January 967 he was appointed Margrave of Camerino.[3] Otto himself made his first trip to the south in 967 and visited Benevento he returned again in 968. By now Capua had been made an archbishopric the first in southern Italy.

Towards the end of his stay in the south Otto led a an army into Byzantine Apulia determined to take Bari from Eastern control. In this exercise however he was was unsuccessful. Nevertheless Otto was to persist with his aggressive policies against Byzantine possessions in southern Italy. In May of 969 Otto had to return north and left Pandolf I 'Ironhead' in charge of the siege of

[1] N.Cilento Le origini della signoria capuana nella Longobardia minore (Rome 1966)

[2] Pope John XII was at that in disfavour with Otto I as he had supported the rebels Berengar and Adelpert.

[3] B.Kreutz op.cit., p.103.

Bovino where the Lombard prince was captured by the Byzantines and sent to Constantinople.[1]

Eventually he was released in order to play a leading role in the talks between East and West concerning the proposed marriage alliance between Theophano and Otto II.

From the beginning of his reign in 961 it was clear that monasticism was to play a significant role in the politics of his government. Although the extant charters indicate a clear emphasis on Montecassino the monasteries of S.Sophia and S. Vincenzo al Volturno also figured in his politics.

Indeed throughout the entire tenth century all of the Capuan princes continually supported the monasteries and helped them to regain their lost territories.

Relationship between monasticism and the House of Capua and the Lombard Aristocracy 900 - 981

Throughout this very lengthy period of Capuan rule one recurring element was the increasing significance of the relationship between the Capuan ruling house and the monastery of Montecassino. From a list of 28 charters dating between 900 and 961 which relate to the family's relationship with the monasteries of southern Italy, 19 of these related specifically to the monastery of Montecassino. These ties with the great Benedictine Abbey had their origins in the ninth century. The majority of

[1] CS col.171-172.

the abbots of Montecassino in the second half of the ninth century, for example, were related to the house of Capua.

Nevertheless the other abbeys were not ignored by the Lombard princes between 900 and 961. For the abbey of S.Vincenzo al Volturno there are two documents which were issued by the Lombard princes in favour of the monastery in this period. And these are dated to the early part of the first half of the century.

On 16 November 914 the princes Landolf I and Atenolf II recognising that the land which was held by the monks of S. Vincenzo within the city of Capua was insufficient for the requirements of the monastery, on the advice of bishops, abbots and magnates granted to Abbot Godelpert a much greater area of land where their father Atenolf I had begun to construct a church with a castello bordering the eastern square of the city and the river Volturno.[1]

Two years later when the community of S.Vincenzo had returned to the original monastic complex the same princes issued a confirmation charter in favour of the monastery and the goods it had possessed in the territory of Venafro prior to the the Saracen attack of 881. The charter explains that an appeal had been made by the late Abbot Maio for a similar confirmation although we do not know when he made the request or to which prince. It may have been to the prince's father Atenolf I. These were the last charters issued in favour of

[1] CV II doc.85. pp.35-37.

S.Vincenzo until 957/958 when one was issued by Landolf II and his son Pandolf.

During the first half of the century therefore the Lombard princes did recognise the monastery's rights over the terra it had held prior to the Saracen attack and although in this particular document the princes referred only to the possessions that the monastery owned in the town and vicinity of Venafro their confirmation was a crucial aid in the long monastic process of regaining those territories which had been lost after the Arabs sacked the monastery in 881.

Support for the monasteries came in significant form from Pandolf I Ironhead. There is a long list of Pandolf's confirmations, donations and exemptions in favour of the monasteries of S.Vincenzo al Volturno, Montecassino and S.Sophia at Benevento.

For example, on the 19 July 961 Pandolf I and Landolf III at the request of their uncle the count Landolf (undoubtedly a notarial error for Landenolf) conceded to the monastery of S.Sophia in favour of abbot Azzo various lands throughout Southern Italy.[1]

The next we hear of Pandolf I and the monastery of S.Sophia was the year 970. In October of that year the prince at the request of the count Roffrid gave to the monastery the lands of Albuto in the territory of Larino which had been confiscated by the prince from the

[1] CSS col.440.

sons of the Capuan judge Sadelfrid.[1]

In May 964 the two princes offered to the monastery of S.Vincenzo 300 modia of lands which they held in community with the heirs of Prince Atenolf in Patria, and land held with the Neapolitans in Liburia in locality of "Piru, Firrunianu, ad Cirasa, ad Limite", and others.[2] This was followed not long afterwards by a confirmation charter issued on 28 December 965. In this document Pandolf I and Landolf II through the intercession of the princess Aloara confirmed to Abbot Paul and the community of S.Vincenzo the privileges which had been made by Louis II, along with the possession of the goods which had been donated to the monastery in monte Acero in the territory of Caminense.[3]

This latter document is significant on a number of counts firstly it shows clearly that the prince could confirm specific areas of the monastic territorial holdings and that these could be broken down into quite small parcels indeed. But secondly it is noteworthy that Pandolf can confirm an imperial confirmation. This is perhaps the greatest testimony to the extent of the powers that the Lombard princes had acquired. This was the first charter which record a Lombard prince confirming an imperial confirmation.

There are also numerous charters issued by Pandolf I

[1] CSS col.438.
[2] CV II Doc.140 pp.216-233.
[3] CV II. Doc.123. pp.158-162.

in favour of Montecassino. For example, in 963, Pandolf I and Landolf III issued a charter in favour of the monastery and Abbot Aligern confirming its possessions.[1] However, one of the most significant of Pandolf's extant charters was one issued in favour of S.Vincenzo al Volturno in 967.

In July of that year the princes Pandolf I and Landolf III issued a charter in favour of S. Vincenzo al Volturno which has been the focus of much attention by many scholars of Southern Italian history. In this document the Lombard princes through the advice of Bishop Alberic conceded to Abbot Paul II of S.Vincenzo the power to construct towers and castles on the estates of the monastery.[2] The agreements enshrined in this document enhanced the monastery's capacity to fully exploit the economic potential of its terrae.[3]

The Capuan princes clearly supported the key elements of monastic reform including the recovery of monastic property and the re-establishment and exploitation of the

[1] Gatt.Acc. pp.60-62. In the same year the princes donated land in the vicinity of Terelle to the same abbey.

[2] CV II. doc 124. pp.162-164.

[3] M.Del.Treppo, 'La vita economica e sociale in una grande abbazia del mezzogiorno: San vincenzo al Volturno nell'alto medieoevo' ASPN 35 (1955-56) pp.32-110. J-M.Martin,'Modalities de l'"incastellamento" et typologie castrale en Italie meridionale (Xe-XIIe siecles)' in Castelli Storia e Archeologia. A cura di Rinaldo Comba e Aldo A.Settia. (Turin, 1984) pp.89-104. C.Wickham,'Castelli e incastellamento nell'Italia centrale: la problematica storica' in Castelli Storia e Archeologia pp.137-148.

territorial resources of the monasteries. However, while one cannot ignore the ever pertinent redemptive aspect of monastic patronage the documentary sources indicate that the Capuan princes had a great deal to gain from a revitalised monastic 'economy'. In August of 951, for example, the princes Landolf II and Pandolf I conceded to Montecassino and Abbot Aligern exemption from all rents due on the monastery's possessions in Casa Genzana.[1] Similarly in June 952 the same princes exempted Abbot Aligern from all military requisitions (in the form of cattle and carts) due for the monastery's possessions in Larino.[2]

It is clear from these charters that the Lombard princes of Capua received rent in money and kind from the monasteries in respect of certain landed properties. The fact that exemption from such payments was specifically mentioned in these documents suggests that other donations and confirmations which did not expressly exempt monasteries from paying rents may have referred to land for which rents were still exacted.

For example, in 968 Pandolf I and Landolf III donated to Montecassino and Abbot Aligern lands situated in Teano which had pertained to one arichis and his wife Minuta.

[1] Gatt.Acc. p.56. A similar exemption on the same property was issued by Pandolf I and Landolf III in 966. Gatt.Acc p.62.

[2] R.Poupardin, Études sur les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale (IXe-XIe) (Paris 1907) p.101.

Since no mention was made of an economic exemption it may be safe to assume that rents normally due for these lands would still be paid to the princes by the monastery.

Clearly, therefore, the princes of Capua stood to make considerable gains if the monasteries were re-established on a sound economic and territorial basis - hence their enthusiastic support for the fundamental elements of monastic reform: restoration of monastic property and re-establishing the material resources of the monasteries.

Conclusion

Once again the key element which emerges through a study of the role of the papacy and the tenth century reform movements in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy is the extremely limited effects that outside forces had in establishing or extending their influence in the south.

The papacy had a minimal effect on south Italian monastic development in the ninth and tenth centuries. Despite the arguments presented by M.Del Treppo and G.Picasso relations between monasteries such as S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino and the Papacy were negligible. The privilege issued by John VIII in favour of Montecassino had little relevance to the monasteries of south Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries. The historical significance of that document lay in the development of papal ecclesiastical ideology

and for the monastic reform of the eleventh century.

Similarly the Cluniac influence in southern Italy was not as noteworthy as Tommaso Leccisotti and Bernard Hamilton would have us believe. The 'Cluniacs' at Montecassino simply followed monastic reform practices which had been established in the region upwards of twenty years prior to their arrival in the south. The Cluniacs in southern Italy were neither innovative nor significant.

On the contrary the most significant factor in the history and development of Monasticism in the Lombard principalities was the support it received from the Lombard aristocracy, especially the princes of Capua. It was their patronage of the monasteries and their defence of monastic rights which enabled the great abbeys of S.Vincenzo and Montecassino, as well as the smaller houses such as S.Sophia at Benevento, to re-establish their landed estates and to restore them to their position as major economic and cultural institutions.

Part IV

Monasticism and Ecclesiastical Organisation

Introduction

The role of monasticism in ecclesiastical organisation in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries can be considered under three headings. These are: monastic possession of churches, monasticism and pastoral activity, and the relationship between the monasteries and the bishops. Through an examination of these fields of monastic activity it will be demonstrated that while there were broad similarities with the monastic role in ecclesiastical organisation in other regions of Europe the monastic influence on ecclesiastical organisation in southern Italy was in many ways unique and profoundly different from that experienced north of the Abruzzi mountains. It was a role which was based on a long history of monastic involvement in ecclesiastical organisation, which was itself the result of intensely local factors. In short a study of the role of monasticism in ecclesiastical organisation in southern Italy exposes an area of monastic activity which was linked to the very development of a Lombard identity.

Moreover, each of these three areas formed a significant channel for the dissemination of the political and cultural perspectives of the monastic environment in southern Italy. This factor is of importance since, as

will be shown, the dominant aspects of monastic culture in southern Italy were intimately bound up with Lombard ethnic identity. Consequently, it was the various cultural elements which, when viewed collectively, formed the Lombard identity which the monasteries promoted in all areas of ecclesiastical organisation, and which in turn touched all members of the laity and clergy alike. The monastic role in ecclesiastical organisation, therefore, played a central part in perpetuating and intensifying Lombard ethnic identity.

A. Monastic Ownership of Churches

One of the major problems in analysing monastic possession of churches concerns the ambiguity of the terminology which was applied to religious structures. This was a factor which was fully recognised by Giles Constable who stated that; "..the term monasterium was used throughout the Middle Ages for any church cared for by more than one priest. Abbatia and parrochia were also ambiguous terms. At different times and places a parish might be simply a church with a cemetery, a church where mass and baptism were celebrated and confession heard by delegation from the bishop, or (as now) a territorial grouping or unit. In addition to parish churches there were countless chapels and oratories, some subordinate to parish churches and others independent, both free standing and located in private houses and castles, that were served by chaplains who did not necessarily perform

the cura animarum or collect spiritual revenues".[1]

This ambiguity in ecclesiastical terminology as outlined by Constable can also be shown to have been the norm in southern Italy throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Notwithstanding the works of a number of scholars which aimed at exploring and revealing the exact nature of specific church structures in relation to terminology in southern and central Italy in this period the ambiguity remains.

For example, Cinzio Violante in an article which explored ecclesiastical organisation in central Italy between the fifth and tenth centuries concentrated his researches to a large extent on the development and nature of the term "plebs" arguing that the word was synonymous with "pieve" (or parish) and highlighting that the origins of the term were to be found in the seventh and eighth centuries.[2] He indicated that the term also referred to the territory which pertained to a specific church and argued that it began to be accepted within the

[1] G.Constable, 'Monasteries, Churches, and the cura animarum in the Early Middle Ages', SSCI 1982 p.350.

[2] This section will not offer an exhaustive bibliographical approach to the now extensive literature on pievi in northern Italy. On the contrary, I will refer only to a small number of essential works which illustrate certain central issues. Indeed the works of Bruno Ruggiero demonstrate that the development of a distinct pieve organisation in southern Italy was not discernable until the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See his article; 'Per una storia della pieve rurale nel mezzogiorno medievale', in B.Ruggiero Potere, Istituzioni, Chiese Locali (Spoleto 1991) pp.59-106.

official terminology of the church, a development which was clearly indicated through its inclusion in chapters of the Council of Rome of 826.[1] The same scholar also developed his thesis on the role and function of the parrochia which, he argued, was the centre of ecclesiastical organisation and of religious life in the countryside. He argued, for example, that the parish church had a particular role in the cura animarum which consisted of administering the sacraments (especially of baptism) in preaching and in delivering public Mass particularly on festival days.[2] He further went on to argue that "la pieve era dunque organizzata come il centro non solo della vita religiosa, ma anche di quella sociale, del territorio che ad essa faceva capo".[3] Clearly Cinzio Violante saw the parish as an administrative unit which was central to the religious life of any rural community, and that at the centre each parish was the parish church and presumably the parish priest.

The rise and development of the parish itself was the subject of a study by John Contreni who highlighted the importance of the parish in ecclesiastical

[1] C.Violante, 'Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campgne dell'Italia centrosettentrionale' SSCI (Spoleto, 1982) pp. 1016 and 1137.
See also Concilium Romanum a.826. MGH Legum Sectio III Concilia Tomus II. Pars I. (Hannover 1906).Chapters 8, 15, and 25.

[2] C.Violante, op.cit., p.1065.
[3] Ibid., p.1068

organisation and, by way of illustrating his point referred to the increased occurrence of the term "parrochia" in conciliar decrees and imperial legislation as an indication of the increasing religious and social significance of the parish.[1] For example, he cited a decree of the Council of Riesbach which required that every subject of the king (that is, the Frankish king) be a member of a parish. He also referred to the Council of Tribur (895) which was presided over by King Arnulf and which included a decree that stated that new parish churches could only be built if there were no existing parish churches within five miles distance.[2] John Contreni also highlighted the increased fiscal importance of the parishes explaining that an obligation was imposed on parishioners to pay the tithe and that the parish church was the collection point for the tithe.

The historian Cosimo Fonseca has made a detailed study of the position of baptismal churches in southern Italy. In particular he concentrated his researches on the evidence gleaned from the court case between the monastery of S.Maria in Loco Sano and the Bishop of Benevento in 839, over the possession of the baptismal

[1] J.J.Contreni, 'From Polis to Parish', Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages. ed. by T.F.X.Noble and J.J.Contreni. (Michigan University 1987) pp.155-164.

[2] J.J.Contreni, op.cit., p.158. See MGH Cap 10 252, 14a, p.221.

church of S.Felice.[1] Fonseca argued that Prince Sicard's judgement in favour of the monastery of S.Maria was a decision which actually confirmed the legal situation as it already existed and which distinguished between parish churches which were subject to the episcopal jurisdiction and private churches which were subject to the Eigenkircherr.[2]

However, despite their undoubted value to the historian, all of the above studies suffer from a similar fundamental flaw: that is that in pursuing their own particular area of study be it the rise of the parish, the apparent distinction between baptismal churches and private churches, between private churches and those under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, these scholars have created an imbalanced image of ecclesiastical organisation. Indeed contrary to the image which these papers present, of a clearly emerging and emphatically defined ecclesiastical organisation the evidence indicates quite clearly that ambiguity in ecclesiastical definitions particularly as regards the terminology applied to religious structures was the norm. The ninth and tenth centuries although undoubtedly an important period in the development of parishes and the emergence of a clear terminological distinction between different

[1] C.D.Fonseca,'Particolarismo Istituzionale E Organizzazione Ecclesiastica Delle Campagne Nell'Alto Medioevo Nell'Italia Meridionale', SSCI (Spoleto, 1982) pp.1163-1203.
[2] C.D.Fonseca op.cit., p.1169.

religious structures, were primarily formative centuries and various types of religious structures were referred to at different times and in different sources as monasterium, cella, capella, and ecclesia.

Furthermore, all of the historians whose works are referred to above have not been fully critical in their approach to sources. For example, although the decrees of the councils of Riesbach and Tribur in the ninth century by mentioning parishes tended to emphasise the importance of parishes this did not necessarily reflect the situation as it existed on the ground, particularly in respect of southern Italy. The occurrence of the word 'parish' in conciliar legislation did not, for example, indicate the number of parishes in existence, nor are we sure of the extent to which conciliar legislation was put in to practice. And, more importantly, we do not know what the theologians themselves understood by the term parrochia, and to judge by the interchangeability of the terminology used throughout the ninth and tenth centuries neither did their contemporaries. As indicated above the terms parrochia, plebs, and pieve clearly meant different things to different people at different times, and in different regions. Thus although the councils provide an indication of the general way that some clerics would wish ecclesiastical organisation to develop they cannot be relied on as offering a true reflection of ecclesiastical structures and organisations as they

already existed. This factor was further complicated by the open and fluid nature of the terminology.

As regards the court case concerning the possession of the baptismal church of S.Felice, Cosimo Fonseca has analysed the document so exhaustively from one angle that he has not allowed for a brief look at the wider context of the case which provides a broader insight into ecclesiastical organisation, and in particular monastic possession of churches in the south. For example Bishop Hermerisso of Benevento wished to contest the ownership of S.Felice on the grounds that it was a baptismal church. By way of substantiating his claim to jurisdiction over the church his representative, the archpriest Giusto, referred to the canons of the church.[1] It may be that Giusto was indirectly referring to the decrees of the Council of Rome of 826 which ordained that baptismal churches were subject to their respective regional bishops.[2] It is entirely feasible (and this is a point which was not considered by Fonseca) that Bishop Hermerisso was citing conciliar legislation simply in an attempt to legitimate his claims on S.Felice rather than adhering to the decrees of the council. This is also substantiated as a general view when we consider that there were so few court cases of this nature in the south and that in this case in particular, despite Bishop

[1] CV I. Doc.61. pp.297-302.
[2] Concilium Romanum a.826. MGH Legum Sectio III Concilia Tomus II. Pars I. (Hannover 1906) pp.552-583.

Hermerisso's recall to conciliar legislation the case was judged in favour of the monastery of S.Maria in Loco Sano on the ground that the abbey's ownership of the baptismal church was legitimate on account of Lombard custom.

Throughout all the documentation concerning southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries religious buildings are variously referred to as monasterium, cella, ecclesia, and capella. Some of these ambiguities however cannot be explained simply in terms of imprecise definition. For example the monk Erchempert referred in his history to Prince Arichis II's foundation of the monastery of S.Salvatore in Alife in the following terms:

> "Pari etiam modo in territorio Alifano Deo amabili viro ecclesiam in honorem domini Salvatoris construxit et monasterium puellarum instituit atque ditioni sanctissimi Vincentii martiris subdidit".[1]

In this case Erchempert made a clear distinction between Arichis constructing an ecclesia in honour of S.Salvatore and a monasterium puellarum. The author clearly recognized the monastery and the monastic church as distinct entities. This example was later plagiarised and used by the twelfth century author of the Chronicon Vulternense who wrote:

> "Hoc siquidem tempore christianissimus princeps Arichis in territorio Alyphano ecclesiam construxerat in honorem Domini Salvatoris, et monasterium puellare instituit, atque dicioni sanctisimi Vincencii martyris subdidit".[2]

[1] Erchempert c.3, p.236.
[2] CV I p.170.

This example suggests that when a series of documents refer interchangeably to a monastery as either a monasterium or an ecclesia that it is possible that a clear distinction was in fact intended on the part of the authors of the charter. For example all the monasteries which were subject to the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno were also referred to at various times as ecclesiae or indeed as cellae.[1] It is not clear, however, in any of the documentation whether these terms were applied simply interchangeably or if, in the case of the term ecclesia being used, whether or not the author was referring specifically to the monastic church as opposed to the monastery as such. Although it is impossible to say which interpretation was intended we should at least be aware that such a distinction was possible and indeed in reference to the example from Erchempert's history, cited above, that it was used in a clearly identifiable context. This example does serve to illustrate, once again, the formative nature of

[1] For example:
S.Columba in Sora referred to as cell, church and monastery.
S.Croce in Monte Marsico. cell, church and monastery.
S.Erasmo. Church and monastery.
S.Maria in Arole. Church and monastery.
S.Maria in Duas Basilicas in Pinnense. Monastery, cell and church.
S.Martino in Monte Marsico. monastery, church and cell.
S.Pietro in Benevento. Monastery, church and cell.
S.Pietro in Tontole monastery, church and cell.
S.Pietro in Trita. monastery, church and cell.
S.Salvatore in Alife. monastery church and cell.
S.Vincenzo in Capua. Monastery, church and cell.

ecclesiastical organisation in the ninth and tenth centuries.

There are many further examples of the ambiguity of the terminology which also suggests a clear distinction between monastic church and the monastery as independent foundations although dedicated to the same patron saint. In 936 the princes Landolf I, Atenolf II and Atenolf III, at the request of Bishop John of Benevento (911-c953) conceded to the priest Odilprand the church of S.Giovanni which was situated within Benevento next to porta aurea together with its dependencies in the territory of Capua and S.Agatha.[1] In this case the church of S.Giovanni was clearly a proprietary church in the possession of the princes, which in turn appears to have been made the private property of the priest Odilprand.

However some years later in 950, the princes Landolf II and Pandolf I at the request of Magenolf, the abbot of the monastery of S.Giovanni ad portam auream which was a dependency of the royal palace, confirmed the possessions and privileges which had been made to the monastery.[2] Some seventeen years later, however, Otto I presented to the see of Benevento and to Bishop Landolf the two abbeys of S.Pietro of Duddi and S.Giovanni of porta aurea.[3] It would appear that a distinction had been made between the monastery and the monastic church of S.Giovanni. The

[1] Ughelli VIII col. 48-50.
[2] Borgia Memorie di Benevento tomus I p359.
[3] MGH Dip. I PP.460-462.

latter was held as the private property of the incumbent priest while the monastery itself remained the possession of the royal court, until the jurisdiction over the abbey was eventually granted to the bishop of Benevento.

There is another aspect as regards ambiguous terminology which has, to date, received little attention. That is, that whichever term was applied to a specific religious centre could vary depending on the theological/theoretical outlook of the principal agent who initiated the document. For example in 962 Otto I issued a charter of confirmation in favour of the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. In this document out of the total of the 36 possessions of S.Vincenzo which were listed only one was referred to as a church, two as monasteries while 33 other religious centres were termed cells. This ratio between the number of churches and cells which were in monastic possession was probably more than a little distorted. Otto, for example, would not have been keen to confirm monastic possession of churches in a period when he sought to "exploit the potential of the church as an instrument of Government" (the so called Reichskirchensystem) the key to which was the control of the bishops, a policy which also entailed strengthening their control over the churches in their dioceses.[1] Clearly such a ratio heavily in favour of

[1] T.Reuter, 'The Imperial Church system of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', JEH 33 (1982) pp.347-374.

cells was not the case in the southern Italian documentation, which referred to most of the centres which appeared in Otto's confirmation as cells as churches.

There is another example from the ninth century documentation which illustrates the ambiguity of the terminology in this formative period. Among the documents preserved in the collection Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis is a charter from 845. In this document one Pietro and his wife Alfarana join the 'community' and make a donation to the "ecclesiam sanctorum apostolorum filippi et iacobi in congregatione sancta, ubi abbate franco et presbiter cum suis fratribus regimen tenere esse bidetur".[1] In this case Pietro and his wife Alfarana were quite clearly endowing a monastery which was under the rule of an abbot (and priest) Franco, although the term used in the document was ecclesia and not monasterium.

This leads us back to Giles Constable's comments on the ambiguity of the terminology ascribed to religious centres. The ninth and tenth centuries were indeed formative periods in the development of the parish and parish churches and in the distinction increasingly made between different religious centres and their respective individual functions. It was a formative period in ecclesiastical organisation generally and ecclesiastical

[1] CDC I Doc.25. pp. 28-29.

terminology was itself in a state of flux. Nowhere was this state of flux so acutely experienced as in southern Italy where the ecclesiastical organisation looked to its own traditions and (as will be demonstrated later in this section) paid little heed to imperial or conciliar legislation. John Contreni was correct when he declared that, "religiously life remained intensely local".[1]

It is therefore difficult to describe many religious structures in southern Italy as either 'churches' or 'cells' with any degree of certainty. Furthermore it is impossible to determine what the Lombards of southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries conceived when using the terms, parrochia, ecclesia or cella. The sources indicate unequivocally that the terms were loosely applied to all kinds of religious structures. This illustrates that a clearly defined religious terminology had to undergo an immense amount of development and clarification before reaching a generally accepted definition in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Despite these problems concerning the definition of the terminology applied to religious structures the situation in southern Italy lends weight to Giles Constable's comment that "monasteries were fully part of the proprietary church system and owned or partially

[1] J.J.Contreni op.cit., p.157.

owned, churches from which they collected revenues and produce for their own benefit".[1] Pierre Toubert also stated that the monasteries held considerable dominion over their patrimony and that they exercised or claimed rights of jurisdiction over the rural churches.[2] And in this statement Toubert was referring specifically to southern Italy.

By referring to the available source material and including only those structures which were most consistently referred to as churches it is possible (at least at a basic level) to arrive at an estimate of the number of churches in monastic ownership, as well as viewing the geographical extent of monastic influence.[3]

The proportion of churches in monastic possession in southern Italy is high compared with monastic church ownership in other regions of Europe. For example it has been calculated that in the first half of the ninth century the monastery of St.Germain-des-Prés owned 36 churches, St.Rémi 13 churches and St.Germain of Auxerre

[1] G.Constable, op.cit., pp. 349-350.
[2] P.Toubert, 'Monachisme et encadrement religieux des campagnes en Italie aux Xe-, Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di Studio (Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974): Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secoli XI-XII, Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie. (Milan 1977), pp.416-441.

[3] A church, as opposed to a chapel or a cell, would have the following three characteristics: dedication to a saint, possession of an altar, served by a priest or a deacon.

10.[1] Indeed the studies of François Lemarignier have illustrated the high degree of monastic ownership of churches in northern France in the latter half of the ninth century. For example he has calculated that of all the churches mentioned in royal diplomas at the time of Charles the Fat 79% were private monastic churches, 11.5 were owned by the bishops and 9.5 were in lay possession.[2] In the period 936 to 987 he calculated that the ratio of monastic churches compared with other churches (ecclesiastical and private) as higher: 80-90%.[3] This same conclusion was later echoed by Thomas Amos who indicated that "the increase in the number of "Eigenkirchen" acquired by the monasteries continued well into the twelfth century".[4]

The available sources for southern Italy indicates that the majority of the churches which were in monastic possession in the ninth and tenth centuries had been donated to the abbeys during the eighth century or the first quarter of the ninth century. That is not to say that churches ceased to be acquired by the monasteries

[1] T.L.Amos, 'Monks and Pastoral Care in the Early Middle Ages', Religion, Culture and society in the Early Middle Ages. Ed by T.F.X. Noble and J.J.Contreni. (Michigan University 1987) p.173.

[2] J.F.Lemarignier, 'Encadrement Religieux des Campagnes et Conjoncture Politique dans les Régions du Royaume de France Situées au Nord de la Loire,de Charles Le Chauve aux derniers Carolingiens (840-987)', SSCI 28 (1982) p.768.

[3] Ibid.,p.793.

[4] T.L.Amos, op.cit.,p.173.

during the course of the later ninth and tenth centuries. On the contrary the number of churches in monastic possession continued to grow well into the tenth century. However, the number of churches acquired after about 850 was considerably fewer than those which had been acquired during the earlier period. The dramatic rate of monastic aggrandisement in the century between 750 and 850 corresponds well with David Herlihy's argument that there was a "striking increase in the portion of land claimed by the church between the eighth and the ninth centuries".[1] Indeed it is certain that all churches which were acquired by the monasteries were donated together with contiguous blocks of land. Although Herlihy's arguments were based on church property in general it is undoubtedly true that monasteries were fully part of this expansion of the extent of the landed property which occurred in this period. As Herlihy pointed out, "in Germany, France and Italy the Church owned twice as much land in the ninth century as it did in the eighth".

However, why did monasteries own churches? This question has two aspects; firstly the basic understanding of how monasteries acquired churches and the mechanisms of this acquisition. Secondly, the deeper underlying

[1] D.Herlihy, 'Church Property on the European Continent 701-1200', SPECULUM 36 (1961) pp.86-87. This is certainly true of the Carolingian world, which had a close alliance with the church.

social, political, economic, and religious trends and developments which led to the creation of conditions, which in due course allowed for monastic church possession.

Firstly; the mechanisms of monastic acquisition of churches. Monasteries acquired churches in a number of ways: through donations, founding them themselves, purchase and exchange. The two most common methods of acquisition however were by way of donations made by the Lombard aristocracy (including the princes) and also through the agency of the abbots who founded churches within the monastic complex itself or on the monastic terrae.

Table I on page 19 lists the churches which are known to have been founded by a number of abbots of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. From the abbey's foundation in 715 up until its sack by the Saracens in 883, 11 churches had been constructed by abbots of the monastery either within the monastic complex or on the monastic terrae.

Why did these abbots found churches? Unfortunately, there is little evidence to be gleaned from the chronicle; the references to the churches built by the abbots are to be found in the short biographies of each of the abbots. In these biographies it was simply stated that a particular abbot built a church with no indication as to why he should have done so or what specific purpose it was intended to serve. Nevertheless,

the figures we have do allow for some degree of analysis.

Prior to the Arab attack on S.Vincenzo in 883 eleven churches had been founded by Abbots of the monastery. Four of these are known to have been constructed within the monastic complex while the remaining seven were probably built on the monastic terrae, although their exact location is unknown. There was a definite break in this activity following the death of Abbot Teuto in 856. Between that date and the sack of the monastery in 883 no

Churches Founded by Abbots of S.Vincenzo

ABBOT	DEDICATION	LOCATION
TASO(729-739)	S.Maria Major	Within monastic complex
ATO(732-760)	S.Petrus	Within monastic complex
PAULUS(783-792)	S.Maria Minor	Within monastic complex
IOSUE(792-817)	S.Vincencius	Within monastic complex
TALARICUS(817-823)	S.Salvator	Within monastic complex
	S.Michael	?
EPYPHANIUS(824-842)	S.Maria	Within monastic complex
	S.Laurencius	Within monastic

		complex
TOTO(842-844)	S.Petrus	ad Pontem Marmoreum
IACOBUS(844-853)	S.Petrus	ad Istrias
TEUTO(853-856)	S.Eleutherius	in Fundiliano
RAIMBALDUS(920-944)	S.Maria	?
LEO(944-957)	S.Maria	Capua

TABLE I

churches were built by the abbots of the abbey. This is all the more striking when one considers that each Abbot since the abbacy of Paul(783-792) is known to have founded at least one, and in some cases two monastic churches.

The grounds for the period of building activity between Paul(783-792) and Teuto(853-856) are threefold. Firstly it is clear from the evidence provided by the excavations carried out on S.Vincenzo that this same period was the era which witnessed the greatest physical expansion of the monastic complex, an expansion which was accompanied by a vast increase in the number of monks. Although Richard Hodges's figure of 1000 monks is undoubtedly rather exaggerated there can be no doubt that the number of the monks who inhabited the monastery did increase. This increase in the number of monks would have placed a corresponding pressure on the ability of the relatively small eighth century monastic churches to

serve the needs of the community. In order to fully meet the sacral needs of the abbey therefore it would have been necessary to increase the number of monastic churches. Only Paul(783-792), Giosue(792-817) and Talarico(817-823) can be shown to have built churches within the monastic complex and this factor coincides with the exact period highlighted by Richard Hodges as that which witnessed the most intense period of expansion for the monastery.

The following four abbots Epiphanius, Toto, Iacobus and Teuto all built churches on the monastic terrae but not in the monastic complex. It is not clear whether or not these churches were deemed to be private oratories for the use of the abbot or the monks, or whether they were intended to serve the wider need of the rural population who inhabited the area around these churches. They may also have been constructed by these abbots simply on account of the fact that a 'tradition' of founding churches had been established by the series of abbots who ruled between 783 and 823. However, since the monastery was well served by altars by the 820's the subsequent abbots turned to the monastic terrae as the main location for new monastic churches.(See Fig VI. Churches in possession of S.Vincenco al Volturno p.23)).[1]

The sharp break in church foundations after 856 can

[1] This also suggests that the number of monks within S.Vincenzo al Volturno had stablised by the 820's

best be explained on two grounds: decline in the number of monks and the dislocation caused by the increase in the number of Saracen war bands ravaging the Lombard principalities at this time.

Monks also built churches themselves which in turn became monastic possessions. There is an illustration of this practice in the Chronicon Cassinense of Leo of Ostia and which has been dated to about the year 948.

> "Item Iohannes quidam monachus natione Capuanus obtulit in hoc loco ecclesiam sancti Viti, que constructa est in monte sancte Agathe supra Capuam prope locum, qui dicitur Ferruzanum, cum aqua et molendinis et cum omnibus eiusdem ecclesie pertinentiis nec non et universis mobilibus et immobilibus suis".[1]

There are also examples of priests building churches which eventually became monastic proprietary churches. For example Leo of Ostia relates that in May 952 the princes Landolf II and Pandolf I at the request of Aligern, the then abbot of Montecassino, confirmed the possessions of the monastery, particularly those possessions in the territory of Larino and also conceded the small church of S.Benedict which had been built in the town by the priest Leo. As the chronicle relates:

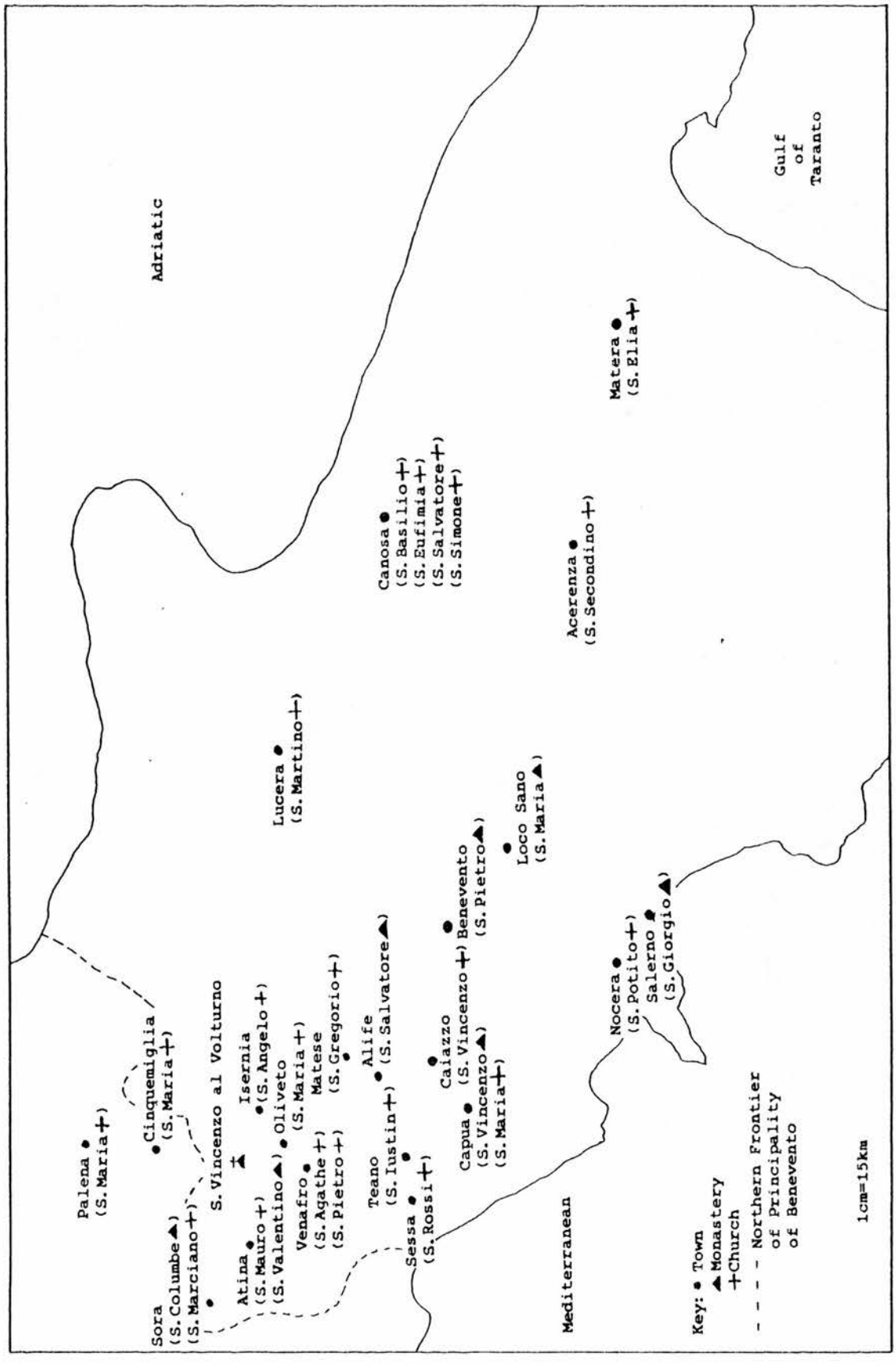
> "Sub hoc abbate Leo quidam presbiter civitas Larinensis, qui postea episcopus factus est, obtulit huic monasterio ecclesiam sancti Benedicti, qui sita est intra eandem civitatem, cum omnibus rebus ac pertinentiis suis; quam etiam postmodum tempore Aligerni abbatis prefatus princeps in hoc monasterio precepto suo formavit." [2]

Clearly monasteries owned churches which they

[1] CC c.60 p.150.
[2] Ibid.,p.150.

received through various channels. However why did monasteries wish to own churches and to fight in courts to retain their possession of ecclesiae? Giles Constable has argued that the "main interest of monasteries in owning churches was economic".[1] He claimed for example that "by sending one of their own monks to serve in a church [the monasteries] were able to save the proportion of the parish revenues that was otherwise assigned to the support of the priest".[2] At the beginning of his argument he stated that although the practice of

[1] G.Constable, op.cit., p.368.
[2] Ibid., p.361.



Daughter Monasteries and Churches of S. Vincenzo

Map III

monasteries owning distant churches was rare in the sixth and seventh centuries "as time went on a growing number of monasteries either owned or had proprietary rights over churches. The principal object of such aims was economic".[1] However, these are rather sweeping claims made by Giles Constable. While it was certainly true that monastic ownership of churches would bring in some revenue it was by no means clear exactly how this was achieved or in what form. For example the practice of tithing was not uniform across Europe and indeed as Cinzio Violante has pointed out "Il pagamento generale e obbligatario delle decime era stato subito introdotto in Italia dai Carolingi",[2] and as has already been pointed out Carolingian legislation held little sway in southern Italy. The Carolingian attempt to introduce a uniformity of religious practice throughout Europe had as little effect as their attempt to extend their effective political hegemony in the south. As Violante further stated "L'obbligo pagare le decime alle chiese battismali fu rinnovato da un capitolare 'missatico' di Lotario nel febbraio 832".[3] However, in this case this meant little in southern Italy.

An emphasis on the special position of baptismal churches was repeated in 845/50 with the royal capitulary which was issued to the bishops of Pavia and which

[1] Ibid., p.358.
[2] C.Violante, op.cit., p.1073.
[3] C.Violante, op.cit., p.1074.

ordained that the tithe was to be paid "ad ecclesias ubi baptismum et praedicationem et manus impositionem et alia Christi sacramenta (fideles laici) percipiunt".[1] However, although it is clear that monasteries in southern Italy may have acquired revenue through their possession of churches one goes too far in stating that this was the main reason for monasteries owning churches. First of all the majority of churches in monastic possession had been donated to their respective mother houses by members of the Lombard aristocracy and thus the primary reason for monastic church ownership must be seen in the context of aristocratic patronage and church donations. The factors which led to monastic possession of churches must be seen in relation to the grantor and not the recipient (ie the monasteries). The argument expounded by Constable which emphasised the economic benefits of the monasteries through church ownership ignored the variety of factors in the political, social, economic and religious historical development of southern Italy which favoured or at least allowed for monastic possession of churches. To say that monasteries owned churches because of the economic benefit they could glean from them, therefore, is too simplistic an analysis of a complex set of interlocking developments in relation to Lombard society and ecclesiastical organisation in southern Italy such as the changes which followed in the

[1] MGH Capit. II No 210 pp.82-83.

wake of the Gothic wars, the Lombard invasions, and the Lombard conversion to Catholicism.

All that can be said with certainty is that monasteries owned a great number of churches throughout all the Lombard principalities. The vast bulk of these churches had been donated to the monasteries by members of the Lombard aristocracy (including princes) in the eighth and during the first half of the ninth century, although odd churches continued to be donated to the monasteries throughout the later ninth and tenth century. However, the monastic ownership of churches was a crucial factor in the dissemination of the monastic cultural outlook throughout the whole of southern Italy. Each church which was a possession of a monastery gave the mother abbey loci and foci within the geographical location of the proprietary church. This gave the monasteries a direct and influential role in the lives of the rural population. Furthermore, the significance of rural monastic churches as channels for the spread of a monastic culture could be heightened if the cleric who served the church was an ordained monk: a so-called monk-priest.

B. The Monk Priest in Southern Italy

Whether or not monks received ordination, the percentage increase in the numbers of these monk-priests and whether or not (or to what degree) they performed pastoral functions in monastic rural churches as opposed to servicing the monastic altars only, has long been a matter of debate among monastic historians.[1] Most of the commentators however do agree that the rise of monasticism from its origins in the west to the twelfth century falls into three distinct chronological periods of study.The period roughly from the eighth century to the eleventh century has been accepted by most commentators as the second age in monastic development. This period was identified as one which witnessed a number of significant developments in western monasticism.

[1] The secondary literature is large. The central publications are: U.Berlière, 'L'exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines dans le haut moyen âge' Revue Benedictine, 39 (1927) pp.227-250; O.Nussbaum, Kloster Priestermönch und Privatmesse, (Bonn 1961); J.Leclercq, 'On Monastic Priesthood According to the Ancient Medieval Tradition', Studia Monastica 3 (1961)pp.137-155; J.F.Lemarignier, 'Quelques Remarques sur l'Organisation Ecclésiastique de la Gaule du VIIe a la fin du IXe Siècle Principalement au Nord de la Loire', SSCI (Spoleto 1966) pp. 451-486. (Plus important discussion with Joseph Semmler, pp. 571-583); P.Schmitz, Histoire De L'Ordre De Saint Benoît, Tome I (Maredsous 1942); A.De Vogue, The Rule of Saint Benedict: A Doctrinal And Spiritual Commentary (Kalamazoo, 1983). C.Vogel, 'La Règle de S.Benoit et le culte chrétien. Prêtre-moine et moine-prêtre' Atti del 7 Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo II 1980, (Spoleto 1982) pp.409-427; M.Dudley,'The Monastic Priest', Monastic Studies II, (1991) pp.183-192.

For example Martin Dudley identifies this period as the age "in which we see the Carolingian reform of the Church and the rise to dominance of Benedictine monasticism".[1] It was also a period which witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of ordained monks. Martin Dudley cites Y.Congar's figures for the ratio of ordained to unordained monks in these two centuries as 60% ordained in the ninth century and 75% ordained in the tenth.

Congar in turn, was utilising the figures which had been presented by Schmitz in 1942, while Otto Nussbaum argued that the percentage ratio rose between 23% and 33% in about 800 to 55% in the tenth century. Giles Constable has argued that these figures have been confirmed by studies of Libri vitae and necrologies. The same scholar quoted the example of the monastery of S.Germain-des-Prés where in the eighth century out of the 49 identifiable monks 15 were priests, 12 deacons and 22 monks. This proportion of 55% ordained to 45% unordained had increased to 74% ordained in 840/50. He also quoted figures for the monastery of S.Denis for 838 which demonstrated a percentage ratio of 65% ordained to 35% unordained. He further argued that these figures demonstrated that the proportion of ordained to unordained monks remained comparatively stable in the second half of the eighth century and that the number of ordained monks grew in the first half of the ninth

[1] M.Dudley,op.cit., p184

century especially in the 830's and 840's.

A general trend in monastic history for the ninth and tenth centuries, therefore, was that of a steady growth in the number of ordained monks compared with unordained. Few contemporary scholars would argue with the figure of 75% as the general ratio of ordained monks to unordained at the end of the tenth century.

How do these figures and the apparent general European trend towards an increase in the number of monk priests therefore compare with developments in southern Italy? First it should be stated that the evidence for monk priests in the Lombard principalities simply does not allow for the type of quantitative analyses which scholars of northern Europe have been able to develop. There are no ninth-century or tenth-century customaries, necrologies or memoriales such as those which permitted precise percentage ratios to be computed for northern European monastic communities.

In the main monastic scholars of southern Italy for the ninth and tenth centuries are limited to analysing the documentary sources which are to be found in the monastic cartularies. Therefore rather than beginning an analysis with a list of monks clearly identified as either monachus or presbyterus or both we are entirely dependent on the fortuitous appearance of monks and monk-priests in the documentation. Unfortunately as a general rule monks very rarely appeared in documentation and

consequently all that can be hoped for in the case of southern Italy is that by looking at the evidence in the documents which may indicate the presence of a monk priest either explicitly or implicitly one can reach some conclusions as regards their prevalence or otherwise.

Fortunately any biases which may have emerged through the study of one source type, in this case the monastic cartularies, is balanced by the collection of ninth and tenth century lay documents from the region of Salerno contained in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis. It is instructive therefore to analyse the evidence for monk-priests from a specific monastic cartulary such as the Chronicon Vulternense, in comparison with those documents in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis.

Firstly, the documents contained in the Chronicon Vulternense have few references to monk-priests. Those references that do occur appear in the eighth century and from then we have to wait until 881 when the sources refer to one Sabbatino as "sacerdos et monachus".[1] Thereafter until 981 there are references to 15 monk-priests who appear in different roles within the documentation; as witnesses to livellos, as monastic administrators, and as missi to the abbots.

Secondly, the number of monk-priests found in the documents collected in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis is

[1] CV 881

also very small. From the 337 documents which cover the period between 810 and 982 there are references to a total of 86 different priests, and only two of these are specifically referred to as monk-priests. In 968 one Pietro was referred to as "Petri presbiteri et monachi"[1] and in 974 there is a reference to one "Guaimarius presbiter et monachus".[2]

Thus for both a monastic source and a secular body of documents examined together we have a total of only 17 monk-priests for the ninth and tenth centuries. This low figure, however, is only to be expected for the type of sources that we are dealing with monks or monk-priests occurred only by chance and only in so far as they had a role in the specific nature of the transaction of the document. In short while these figures alone do not in themselves indicate a large number of ordained monks, this is due primarily to the nature of the sources. Despite these problems there are significant pointers in the sources which suggest the presence of monk-priests.

In respect of the Chronicon Vulternense the lack of references to monk-priests in the ninth century does not indicate their low numbers. On the contrary since they occur in the sources for the eighth and the tenth centuries it would be inconsistent to imagine that their figures had dropped significantly in the intervening century. As indicated above, whether or not we find

[1] CDC Doc. 258.
[2] CDC Doc. 276.

references to monks or monk-priests depended on their role as protagonists within the document or as functionaries in the execution of the document, as notaries or witnesses. The vast bulk of the ninth century documentation contained in the Chronicon Vulternense however are confirmation and donation charters issued on behalf of the Carolingian royal court, the Lombard court in Benevento and numerous Lombard aristocratic families. The provenance of these documents therefore tended to preclude references to monks or monk-priests. They normally refer only to the abbot of the monastery as the main beneficiary of their donations.

In the tenth century however the nature of the documents changed. The majority of the surviving ninth century documents relate to aristocratic donations and confirmations. In the tenth century there was a dramatic rise in the number of documents which were drawn up exclusively within the monastic context and as a result of monastic activity: primarily the granting of livellos, and records of the rising number of disputes between the monasteries and the laity concerning the possession of land and churches. Consequently with a rise in monastic inspired legal activity we find a corresponding increase in references to monk-priests.[1] This increase was due primarily to the fact that monk-priests had a specific

[1] The monk-priests found in the Chronicon Vulternense are as follows: Magelfridus,Petrus,Leonem,Donadei,Adelpert Paulus,Iohannes,Grimoald,Bonicui,Vigilancius,Iohannes Toto,Daucopertus,Petrus.

and active role in various aspects of the administrative infrastructure of monasticism. One such example was Leo a tenth-century S.Vincenzo monk-priest.

Leo first appears in the sources in 936 when he played a central administrative role on behalf of the monastery in a dispute between Abbot Rambaldo of S.Vincenzo and one Maio (the son of Picco of Capua) over the possession of certain lands near Teano.[1] Between 962 and 972 Leo continued to act on behalf of Abbot Paul of S.Vincenzo, and issued four livellos.[2] In each of these documents Leo was clearly entrusted with full power to act on behalf of the abbot. It should be noted however that Leo was not simply a monk-priest but was also the prior of S.Vincenzo, an office which was often considered next in line to the abbot. The level of influence which could be exerted by this particular prior of the monastery was clearly demonstrated in 941 when Hugh and Lothar issued a confirmation in favour of the monastery and all its possessions following the advice of Leo.[3] Nevertheless the example of Leo clearly demonstrates two points; firstly that monk-priests existed and that they could on occasions play an active role in monastic administration; secondly that the appearance of monk-priests in the sources depended quite specifically on the nature of the documentation. Thus the omission of monk-

[1] CV II Doc.88.
[2] CV II Doc's 108, 109, 110 and 114.
[3] CV II Doc 99.

priests from the ninth century documentation from S.Vincenzo does not deny their presence nor their role in monastic activity during that century, but merely reflects a difference in the nature of the documentation.

What about the documentation in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis which mentioned only two monk-priests for the ninth and tenth centuries? As in the case of the Chronicon Vulternense we would expect monk-priests only to appear in documents which related to activities with which they were directly involved. Nevertheless two monk-priests as compared with 84 priests is a staggering imbalance in the ratio between ordained and unordained in this body of documentation. However, there is evidence within the La Cava collection which indicates that monks were ordained. Furthermore, there is a sufficient body of evidence which indicates that those individuals who appear in the documents simply as priests may also have been monks although the term monachus did not appear in the documentation.

Firstly, as regards the ordination of monks, all the references in the La Cava documents to abbots also indicates that they were priests, particularly in the case of the monastery of S.Massimo in Salerno. All the abbots of that house, for example, from Abbot Angelo through to Abbot Gregory were invariably referred to as presbiter et abbas.[1] Other abbots are also mentioned in

[1] For example: Agnelus, Iohannes, Adelchis, Petrus, Gregory.

the documents as priests such as abbot Giovanni (of an unknown monastery) who was termed presbiterus et abbas,[1] and one Lupino, who in 956 was known as an archpresbiter et abbas.[2]

Clearly these men had been monks prior to their elevation to the abbacy of their particular monasteries and it is highly probable that they had received ordination prior to being elected abbots. This possibility is given added credence by way of the documentary sources which relate to the figure of Angelpert, a late ninth and early tenth century priest from Nocera. Five documents from the years 873 to 882 relate to Angelpert's attempts to aggrandise his property in Agella (near Nocera) which he had inherited from his parents. In all of these documents he was referred to as a priest and the son of Leo (deceased). However, in 903 the same Angelpert drew up a document in which he left various parts of his possessions in Agella to his sister-in-law Sicha, and his nephew Iohanelgario. In this example Angelpert appeared as presbiter et abbas filius leoni habitores in noceria. Evidently Angelpert must have been a monk-priest before his elevation to the office of abbot sometime prior to 903.[3]

What does this tell us about the documents contained in the La Cava collection? Firstly the ratio of 84

[1] CDC II, Doc.102. pp.130-131.
[2] CDC II, Doc.190. pp.245-246.
[3] CDC II. Doc's 72, 82, 88, 91, 95, 97, 118.

priests to 2 monk-priests in the documents in the Codex is exceptionally enigmatic evidence. We cannot, for example declare emphatically that all 84 priests were not monks since the example of Angelpert clearly demonstrates that monk-priests could be referred to simply as priests. On the evidence of the documentation in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis therefore, all or any proportion of the 84 priests may have been monks.

This evidence also indicates that if a priest was also a monk then that was significant from the monastic point of view but relatively unimportant in Lombard society generally. For example when a monk priest appears in monastic documentation he is usually referred to specifically as monachus et presbiterus thereby linking the individual to the monastery by way of association. However in secular administrative structures a monk-priest was known simply as presbiterus very probably because, in the functional sense, that is how the individual was recognised within society; that is, as a priest and not as a monk. His monastic ties were less important than the fact of his ordination which allowed him to perform the sacral functions necessary for the redemption of each individual in society.

What does this tell us? Firstly that although we do not have the type of sources which would enable us to compute the ratio between ordained to unordained monks in Southern Italy it is clear that they did exist. Secondly

that the lack of references to them in the ninth century reflected a change in source type rather than the non-existence of monk-priests. Thirdly the ambiguity of terminology was apparent, highlighting once again that the ninth and tenth centuries were formative years for ecclesiastical organisation on many levels. Although it is impossible to determine the exact ratio of ordained to unordained monks in southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries there is no evidence which suggests that it would be any less than those ratios which have been calculated for other regions of Europe.

Monk-Priests and Pastoral Functions

It has now been established that monasteries owned rural churches and that monk-priests were to be found in southern Italy. However whether or not monk-priests performed pastoral functions either within the monastery or in monastic proprietary churches is a question which will be explored in this following section of this chapter. Before moving on to consider this question we should reflect on the nature of 'pastoral functions'. In general these may be considered as: administering the sacraments, especially baptism and the eucharist, imposing penance and preaching. These were ceremonies which Constable argued were 'considered central to the salvation of the individual Christian'.[1]

While most scholars now accept that the ratio of

[1] G.Constable, op.cit., p.353.

ordained to unordained monks increased throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, there is still a great deal of debate as regards the extent to which these monk-priests performed pastoral functions particularly outwith their respective monasteries. Ursmer Berlière while recognising that the size of the monastic domains would to an extent ensure the abbeys a role in ecclesiastical organisation also argued that it was very improbable that large numbers of monastic proprietary churches were served by monks.[1] Although playing down their numbers Berlière clearly recognised that monks not only exercised pastoral functions but that they also served the cure in rural churches. Berlière's arguments were later echoed by Pierre Toubert who concluded that "les moines n'ont pas, en règle générale, assumé eux-mêmes le ministère paroissal dans les églises placées sous leur juridiction".[2]

Francois Lemarignier on the other hand argued that monks did perform much of the pastoral work in the countryside in the ninth and tenth centuries, and his arguments were echoed by Giles Constable and Thomas Amos who both accepted that monk-priests 'served the altar in parish churches on monastic estates and parishes

[1] U.Berlière, op.cit., p.233.
[2] P.Toubert, 'Monachisme et encadrement religieux des campagnes en Italie aux Xe-, Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di Studio (Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974): Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secoli XI-XII, Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie. (Milan 1977), p.427.

controlled by the monasteries'.[1]

Contrary to the views expressed by the above historians de Vogué has argued that monks were ordained in order that they might administer the Eucharist within their respective monasteries and not for the purpose of serving rural churches.[2] This view has recently also been reaffirmed by Martin Dudley who felt that,

> "The monks did not go out to services in the parish, diocesan priests did not need to come in to celebrate in the monastery, and by imparting a hiddenness to its liturgy, by the use of screens and by other measures, the monastic community became truly enclosed".[3]

After François Lemarignier's paper in 1966 on the monastic role in ecclesiastical organisation in northern France his conclusions were questioned by Joseph Semmler who cited the evidence of conciliar decrees and legislation which sought to halt and reverse monastic pastoral activity as illustrating the decrease in monastic involvement in that activity. Certainly there was a great deal of legislation of this nature. For example it has been argued that the legislation formulated at the reforming councils of Aachen in 816 and 817 were 'inspired by a desire to reassert the distinction between monks and clerics', while François Lemarignier felt that Benedict of Aniane, who had inspired a monastic reform movement in the ninth century,

[1] T.Amos, op.cit., p.175.
G.Constable, op.cit., p.351.
[2] A.De Vogué, The Rule of Saint Benedict: A Doctrinal And Spiritual Commentary (Kalamazoo, 1983).
[3] M.Dudley, op.cit., p186.

was following a course established by Charlemagne and which was in origin a reaction against monastic rural missions which the Frankish emperor judged to be too Celtic.[1]

In the same year as the first Council of Aachen(816) Louis the Pious issued a capitulary which ordained that monks were to retire to the cloisters and to be replaced in the monastic domains by the laity.[2] Finally in 836 a Council at Aachen forbade monks to engage in any secular or ecclesiastical affairs outside the monastery.[3]

Thomas Amos has indicated that this hard line stance against monastic involvement in pastoral activity referred mainly to the period of Carolingian growth and that by the late 840's the approach had softened. For example he cited the case of the Council of Mainz (847) during which Rabanaus Maurus, the bishop of Mainz "permitted monks to serve parishes with the consent of the bishops and on condition that they attend diocesan synods".[4]

Overall, this legislation, rather than indicating a decline in monastic involvement in ecclesiastical

[1] J.F.Lemarignier 'Quelques Remarques sur L'Organisation Ecclésiastique de la Gaule du VIIe a la fin du IXe Siècle Principalement au Nord de la Loire' SSCI XIII (Spoleto 1966) p473. See also the discussion with Joseph Semmler which followed.

[2] J.F.Lemarignier, Ibid., p.576.
[3] Council Aquisgranense 836 M.G.H. Conc.2.2.711.
[4] T.Amos,op.cit., p172.
Council Moguntinense (847) Mansi.Concilia, XIV, col. 907D.

organisation, as Joseph Semmler argued, actually suggests that monasteries played a full and expanding role in rural church structures throughout Europe including pastoral activity. Had monasteries not been actively involved in such activity then there would have been no need to promulgate such decrees. This also stands in opposition to the arguments which were propounded by de Vogué and Martin Dudley. The extent to which such legislation was effective in eradicating monastic involvement in ecclesiastical activity in Europe is beyond the scope of this paper but it can be demonstrated that as with so much northern legislation, whether inspired by church or empire, it had limited or no effect on activities in the Lombard principalities of Southern Italy.

The main functions of the monk-priest in respect of the cura animarum would have been blessings, and the administering of the eucharist and preaching. It was through preaching that the monk-priest could exert most influence over the congregation under their guidance. In this context one would expect to find some monastic homily collections from ninth and tenth century southern Italy which may have been used for popular preaching.

E.A.Loew and V.Brown have identified a substantial number of extant manuscripts displaying the Beneventan hand which was closely associated with the Lombard principalities. Both of these scholars have produced

extensive handlists of the extant Beneventan manuscripts and among these are to be found a significant number of Homily collections which have been identified as having emanated from southern Italy and from a monastic context. The dimensions of some of these collections suggests that they may have been used for popular preaching. Although the majority of the collections which pertain to the period under discussion have been dated to the tenth century this was only to be expected since use of homily collections for preaching in the monastic proprietary churches left the books themselves more open to physical disintegration.[1]

There is specific evidence however from southern Italy which indicates quite clearly that monk-priests performed pastoral work in rural churches. In a livello which was issued in 978 by the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno a central role in the transaction was performed by the monk-priest Toto. The full reference to this individual was; "Toto, presbiter et monachus, custos et rector ecclesie Sancti Hilarus, subditae monasterio Sancti Vincente".[2] That is, guardian and rector of the church of S.Hilarus, a position which would entitle the incumbent to collect the tithe, but which also indicates that it was highly likely that as a priest he would have

[1] E.A.Loew, The Beneventan Script, 2 Volumes, 2nd Ed. (Rome 1980). V.Brown. 'A second new list of Beneventan Manuscripts' Mediaeval Studies 40 1978 pp.239-289.

[2] CV II pp.196-200 (978)

administered the eucharist in the church.

Similarly in the case of the church of S.Martino in Monte Marsico (a possession of S.Vincenzo) we know of two incumbents who were specifically referred to as monk-priests. In 963 we find one "Daucoperto presbiter et monachus, senior et custos ecclesie sancti Martini",[1] and in 976 there is mention of "Petrus presbiter, et prepositus, seu custos monasterii Sanct Martini".[2] Clearly these churches were served by monk-priests who had undoubtedly been sent out from the monastery to perform pastoral duties in the countryside. This was not a tenth century phenomenon either. For example from 813 we find a reference in a document to the church of S.Salvatore "ubi Vuiselgari prepositus curam peragit".[3] In this example Vuiselgari, clearly a monastic functionary on account of his title as prepositus, held the cure of the church of S.Salvatore and was thus also undoubtedly involved in pastoral activity under the auspices of his mother house, the monastery of S.Vincenzo al Volturno.

The evidence from southern Italy therefore contradicts the arguments of de Vogué, Joseph Semmler and Martin Dudley; monk-priests were clearly not confined to

[1] CV II

[2] CV II Peter was later in the same document referred to as "presbiter et monachus". Note also that Sancti Martin is a good example for displaying the ambiguity in terminology.

[3] CV I Doc 48 (813)

servicing monastic altars and held the cures in rural churches during both the ninth and tenth centuries. This leads one to accept the statement of Giles Constable;

> "An unbiased examination of the sources shows, however, that many monasteries in the Middle Ages owned parish churches and that, as an increasing number of monks were ordained, many of them performed pastoral work".[1]

Why was there an increase in the numbers of monk-priests and why did they serve rural monastic proprietary churches? Monastic historians have postulated a number of reasons for this phenomenon including the acceptance of the Benedictine Rule as the normal rule of monastic observance throughout Europe; the increase in private masses performed within monasteries which necessarily required an increase in the number of monks empowered to celebrate mass; an increase in the numbers of churches owned by the monasteries and the increasing involvement of monks missionary and pastoral work.[2]

We have already demonstrated that the monasteries of southern Italy owned a great number of churches throughout the whole of southern Italy and that these churches were served by monastic monk-priests. It was the increasing number of churches owned by monasteries which in some historians' views led to an increase in the number of monk-priests. For example Giles Constable argued that

[1] G.Constable, op.cit., p.351
[2] Dudley,M. 'Monks and Liturgies: the Influence of the Monasteries on the Development of the Medieval liturgy', Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition. Ed. by Judith Loades. (Bangor 1990) pp.21-33.

"A more regular need for the performance of pastoral work by monks was created by the ever growing number of parish churches either built on monastic lands or given to monasteries by bishops or laymen".[1]

This statement was echoed by Thomas Amos who added that monasteries with scriptoria, libraries and schools could more easily train clerics than could some bishops.[2]

Martin Dudley recognised that a factor in the rise of ordained priests was 'the adoption by numerous monasteries of the Rule of St Benedict".[3] His discussion of the Rule necessarily related to chapters 60 and 62 of the rule which were specifically concerned with priests. Dudley cited De Vogue's discussion of the unique aspects of the Benedictine rule in respect of priests. These were that as far as priests were concerned the rule introduced a new aspect compared to earlier rules. First, the Rule allowed priests to be admitted to the community. This had not been permitted by Augustine, by the Rule of the Fathers, or by the Master'. Furthermore it was also evident that Benedict envisaged the promotion of monks to holy orders. This was already a widespread custom but had not received ratification in a Rule'.[4] Certainly the Benedictine Rule was crucial in forming a monastic attitude which was favourable towards priests and the ordination of monks.

In this context it is significant, though of course

[1] G.Constable, op.cit., p.367
[2] T.Amos, op.cit., p.172.
[3] M.Dudley, op.cit., p.185.
[4] M.Dudley, Ibid.,

not surprising, that the Rule (or at least some form of the rule) had been in use in southern Italy since the mid-sixth century. The Benedictine Rule was evidently the one Rule followed by the monks of southern Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries. For example in the penitential of Abbot Taso of S.Vincenzo al Volturno (729-739) the abbot claims, that "ego Taso, indignus abbas monasterii Sancti Vincencii simul cum collegio et consensu fratrum nostrorum, ut sicut iusta regulum beati benedicti".[1] One may also recall that Abbot Theodemar of Montecassino presented an autographed copy of the Rule of St Benedict to Charlemagne in 787.[2]

How did the Rule allow for the ordination of monks? Chapters 60 and 62 of the Rule of S.Benedict have too often been misinterpreted by historians reflecting on Benedict's attitude towards the priesthood. In the opening lines of Chapter 60 what appears to be a bias against the priesthood is clearly articulated:

> Si quis de ordine sacerdotum in monasterio se suscipi rogaverit, non quidem citius ei assentiatur.[3]

Moreover, Benedict continued that should the priest continue to seek entry to the monastery then permission could be given only on the grounds that the priest promised to obey the abbot and the Rule. This apparent distrust of the priesthood has been over-emphasised and

[1] CV I pp.25-27.
[2] On Theodemar's gift to Charlemagne see: C.H. Lawrence Medieval Monasticism p 74
[3] The Rule of Saint Benedict Ed and Trans Justin McCann, (London 1952) Chapter 60 p.136.

analysed outwith its true context time and again.

Although the Rule clearly indicates a hesitancy in accepting a priest into the community, Benedict stated in the same chapter that once a priest had been granted permission to enter within the monastic complex then he was to be allowed to take rank next to the abbot. Benedict evidently recognised that the office of the priest held a particularly elevated position within the religious hierarchy and that this particular appreciation on the part of Benedict was also found in chapter 62 of the Rule:

> "Si quis abbas sibi presbyterum vel diaconem ordinari petierit, de suis eligat qui dignus sit sacerdotio fungi. Ordinatus autem caveat elationem aut superbiam; nec quidquam praesumat nisi quod ei ab abbate praecipitur, sciens se multo magis discipline regulari subdendum. Nec occasione sacerdotii obliviscatur regulae obedientiam et disciplinam, sed magis in Deum proficiat.[1]

This latter sentence clearly refutes the line taken by Giles Constable who felt that" priest-monks serving in parish churches,....were considered to remain monks even though they were no longer living in a community and were free from the obligation of stability and obedience."[2] It is explicitly stated in the Rule that monks who received ordination were to remain obedient to their abbot and to the Rule. Herein lies the key to understanding the contrast between chapter 60 and chapter 62. That is that in chapter 60 Benedict refers solely to

[1] Ibid., Chapter 62. p.140.
[2] G.Constable, op.cit., p.360.

priests who were not monks and therefore not obliged to obey either the Rule or the Abbot. This distinction accounts for the hesitancy in permitting admission of priests into the monastic community. Only if a priest vowed to obey the rule was he allowed entry to the monastery. Despite this hesitation on the part of Benedict he was fully aware and appreciative of the dignity of the priestly office.

In chapter 62 there was no bias against the priesthood nor against any monk who was ordained. On the contrary a monk who was also ordained had to be considered 'worthy' of the office. It was pride that Benedict wished to avoid in monastic ordination and not the office of the priest in itself. The ordination of monks therefore was explicitly and openly sanctioned in the Rule, however it was an ordination that also called for a strengthening in the bond of obedience between the ordained monk and his abbot. Thus monk-priests no matter whether they performed pastoral duties within the monastic complex itself or in monastic proprietary churches were bound to obey their abbots and the rule with more diligence than if they had still been monks.

There remains one reason for monastic ordination which has received little attention since it first appeared in print in 1961. That is the argument propounded by Dom Jean Leclercq in his paper "On monastic Priesthood According to the Ancient medieval

Tradition" In this paper Leclercq sought to distinguish between a 'pastoral priesthood for the ministers of the church and a contemplative priesthood'.[1] Using evidence from various monastic saints' Lives Leclercq argued that the difference between monastic and clerical life was not only maintained but emphasised. Certainly some of the ideas explored by Leclercq can be demonstrated to have a basis in monastic sources such as the Benedictine Rule itself. For example Leclercq cited the evidence of the 11th century Life of S.Boniface in which he argued that the priesthood appears characteristically as exceptional. He added that the 'idea illustrated by the text was that it was necessary to be a spiritual father before becoming a priest'.[2] This quite clearly echoed Chapter 62 of the Benedictine Rule which held that if a monk was to be ordained a deacon or priest then the abbot should chose a member of the community whom he considered worthy (dignus) of ordination.

Leclercq argued that such ordinations were received by the monks in order that they would be more intimately associated with the sacrifice of Christ. This was central to Leclercq's argument that is that ordination was deemed to be a sacrifice by monks, since they themselves did not wish it. He termed them a 'sacrificial, ascetical priesthood..' But he maintained that their priesthood was 'not ordered to the ministration of the sacraments to the

[1] J.Leclercq, op.cit., pp.137-155.
[2] Ibid., p.148.

Christian people, as the ordinary priesthood is'.[1] He felt that the monastic priesthood was exceptional and personal and

> "Even when monks are said to have been ordained priests in order to exercise the sacerdotal ministry, it remains clear :
> a) that not all monks are ordained for this purpose
> b) that those who are ordained are chosen because they are the most truly monks, the most contemplative".[2]

On one level Leclercq's argument had much to commend it particularly since such a view can be proven to have been expressed in the Benedictine Rule. And it is evident from the sources that ordained monks were men of notable standing in the monastic community. One need only reflect on the use of monk-priests as representatives of the monasteries, as missi who acted on behalf of their respective abbots and as administrative officials in monastic legal transactions to substantiate this basic viewpoint. Clearly the monk-priests were men of learning within each community. However, that did not prevent them from having an active role to play in administering pastoral functions in rural churches. Furthermore Leclercq took no account whatsoever of the factors outlined above which give account of the reasons which led to monks not only receiving ordination but also performing pastoral functions. For example he did not discuss monastic possession of rural churches and thus ignored one of the most significant factors which led to

[1] Ibid., p.152.
[2] Ibid., p.153.

an increasing monastic role in pastoral activity.

On the contrary while it can be shown that men of standing were usually ordained it can also be demonstrated that they performed the 'cura animarum'. One of the most noted abbots of S.Vincenzo al Volturno in the first half of the ninth century was Abbot Epiphanius (824-842) whose contemporary portrait is to be found in the famous crypt which was constructed during his period of rule. From the short biography of Epiphanius which is contained in the Chronicon Vulternense we learn that "hic fuit de Sancto Martino in Monte Marsico".[1] It has been explained above that S.Martin in Monte Marsico was an important daughter church of S.Vincenzo. For example it has been shown that in the tenth century S.Martin was served by monk-priests who were also at times referred to as priors, such as Daucopert and Petrus referred to above. It is known that priors were often regarded not only as the next in importance to the abbot in the monastic hierarchy but also as the next in line for the abbatial office. Therefore S.Martin was not only served by monk-priests but also by those individuals who could be elevated to the office of abbot of S.Vincenzo. This had been the case with Epiphanius. True the one line from his short biography is all that we have to link him directly to the church of S.Martin but that one line assumes greater importance in light of the evidence

[1] CV I p.288

relating to Daucopert and Petrus. The contemporary portrait of Abbot Epiphanius in the crypt at S.Vincenzo, significantly portrays him in the vestments of a priest.[1] It is evident that Epiphanius was a monk-priest (and possibly prior) and that he probably served the altar of S.Martin in Monte Marsico before his elevation to the office of Abbot of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. We have in this example, therefore, an individual who was clearly worthy of the priesthood in the terms of the Rule and Leclercq's arguments outlined above, but who was also an active priest who participated fully in ministering sacral duties.

Conclusion

It is evident that monk-priests existed in southern Italy and that they performed the 'cura animarum'. The existence of monk-priests in southern Italy has a significance for the development of Lombard ethnic identity in the principalities of Benevento, Salerno and Capua. Firstly, although monk-priests were in evidence throughout Europe their existence in south Italy was specifically localised in character. For example, the fact that they appeared in the sources as 'monk-priests' exclusively within the context of monastic activity while simply appearing as 'priests' in non-

[1] J.Mitchell. 'The Crypt Reappraised' San Vincenzo al Volturno 1 ed. by R.Hodges. Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 7 (BSR 1993) p.109.

monastic documentation suggests that monk-priests were not only more common than the sources indicate but also that their existence was an accepted part of ecclesiastical organisation in southern Italy.

Secondly, as a religious functionary the monk-priest evidently had a long history in the Lombard principalities. The practice of ordaining monks to serve monastic altars pre-dated the Lombards themselves. The evidence contained in the Benedictine Rule, for example, indicates that this practice was normal procedure in the sixth century. By the time that the two great monasteries of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino were founded and refounded in the early eighth century the practice of ordaining monks in order to serve the altars of monastic churches had become a tradition in the ecclesiastical structures of southern Italy.

Thirdly, monk-priests played a crucial role in disseminating monastic culture which in all its forms expressed a Lombard ethnic identity. As Anthony Smith noted "...over all this heritage of cultural difference stand the guardians of tradition, the priests, scribes and bards who record, preserve and transmit the fund of ethnic myths, memories, symbols and values encased in sacred traditions commanding the veneration of the populace through temple and church, monastery and school, into every town and village within the realm of the culture-community".

Paul Brass also emphasised the role of parish priests in promoting, not only cultural awareness but also ethnic identity. Although his illustrative examples were drawn from the history of nineteenth century India the influence of priests over their respective congregations was always significant and there is no reason to doubt that Brass' statement that "ethnic identities and the early stages of nationalism were promoted by parish priests and the native lower clergy" can be applied with equal veracity to the influential role exercised by monk-priests in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries.

C. Monastic Relations With Bishops

Although monastic control of churches tended to weaken episcopal authority the monasteries required the services of bishops in order to ordain monks and to consecrate monastic churches and altars. For example John of Salerno in his Life of Odo of Cluny relates that once a new oratory had been constructed within a monastic complex it was common practice for the monks to invite the local Bishop to consecrate the new foundation.[1] However this was not always the case and abbots could invite whichever Bishop they wished in order to consecrate new churches. For example when Abbot Bassaccio of Montecassino constructed a new oratory in the monastery of S.Sophia in Benevento the "dedicata est autem a Stephano Teanensis sedis episcopo".[2] However the increasing role played by the monasteries in ecclesiastical organisation not onlyweakened the Bishops' ecclesiastical authority but also threatened their position financially. For example in relation to the collection and payment of the tithe, the part which would in a normal diocesan structure go to the bishop would go to the abbot. As Giles Constable stated:

> Such practices were often a source of controversy between monasteries and the bishops and priests to whom the cura animarum, and resulting revenues, properly belonged.[3]

[1] St Odo of Cluny, Trans and Ed by Gerard Sitwell. (London and New York 1958) Book II ch.3 p 43.

[2] CSB c.4, p.471.
[3] G.Constable, op.cit., p.372.

Constable goes on to liken the relationship between the abbots and the bishops to a tug of war, particularly in the tenth century, when reforming bishops were expressly concerned whether or not monastic churches were served by monks, "whose primary allegiance was to their abbot, or by clerics, who might be to some extent under the control of the bishop."[1] However as will be demonstrated this was only true for northern Europe and had little effect in the south.

Constable also pointed out that in the tenth century the situation was further complicated by papal charters of exemption:

> While in theory bishops could exert their powers to institute priests and to visit even churches served by monks, in practice they ran the risk, in doing so, of infringing a papal grant of exemption and thus of coming into conflict not only with the abbey but also with the papacy, which was particularly sensitive to any challenge to its authority from a regional prelate.[2]

As we have seen in Southern Italy however the diocesan structure of the church was already severely weakened before the ninth and tenth centuries. Nevertheless it is pertinent and instructive to see if the same situation can be discerned in southern Italy.

It has been calculated that throughout Europe in the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries many monasteries established their effective independence from the diocesan bishops. Giles Constable claimed:

[1] Ibid., pp.380-381.
[2] Ibid., p.386.

> They were entitled to choose any bishop they wanted to ordain priests and bless holy oil, and they exercised quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over their lands and churches.[1]

It has also been claimed that it was these factors which led to a rise in the number of disputes between bishops and abbots throughout Europe. To what extent, however can the same be said of Southern Italy?

In fact there are very few Southern Italian sources which relate to disputes between the monasteries and the the bishops. In the Chronicon Vulternense there are only two documents which relate to disputes over the ownership of churches. The first dates to 839 and involved a dispute between the Bishop of Benevento and the monastery of S.Maria in Loco Sano over the possession of the baptismal church of S.Felice.[2]

The second charter in the same chronicle which refers to a dispute refers to the year 949. On that occasion Abbot Leo of S.Vincenzo assisted by his referendarius and advocate one Adelferio contested ownership of the monastery of S.Salvatore in Alife with Bishop Giovanni of Benevento who was represented by the archpriest Giusto. The first hearing was tried in Benevento before prince Landolf and the gastald and judge Raimelfrit.[3] At this first hearing the case was unresolved and the two opposing parties were told to return twelve days later with documentary proof of

[1] Ibid., pp.378-379.
[2] CV I doc.61 pp.297-302.
[3] CV II Doc.96 p.74. (July 949)

ownership. The court eventually found in favour of S.Vincenzo.[1]

Although the low number of disputes with the bishops suggests that relations between the episcopate and the monasteries was not overly contentious it was true that individual Bishops, particularly those who were apparently appointed to an episcopal see as a matter of political expediency could cause friction between episcopate and monastery. For example, Bishop Landolf of Capua attracted the antipathy of the monastic hierarchy from an early stage in his career as bishop.

Bishop Landolf was the youngest son of Count Landolf (815-43) of Capua and was inextricably linked to the hub of political power. He had been 'elected' to the episcopal see of Capua by his brother Count Landone (843-60) with little regard to clergy and papacy alike. As Huguette Taviani-Carozzi has remarked "ni l'élection parte le 'clerus' et 'populus', ni la consécration par le pape n'avaient été observées"[2] while Landolf's contemporary the historian Erchempert wrote:

> "Hos autem tempore Paulinus, Deo dignus et carus vir, Capuae presul, ab hac carnea subtractus est faece, atque Landone supradicto viro viriliter decertante, Landolfum fratrem suum, episcopum ordinavit."[3]

[1] It is interesting to note in this example that the dispute was not over the possession of a church but over a monastery. This may be an example of the ambiguity of the terminology and S.Salvatore may have been a church. Or the bishop may have been trying to extend his influence over the monastery.

[2] H.Taviani-Carozzi, La Principauté Lombarde de Salerne. (IXe-XIe Siècle) (Rome 1991). p635.

[3] Erchempert, c.22, p.243.

The monastic communities of southern Italy assumed an anti-Landolf attitude from an early period. Clearly Landolf's attempts to augment his authority worried the monasteries and various abbots sought to weaken his political influence. For example, the abbot of Montecassino attempted to use his own political influence in order to dissuade the emperor Louis II from listening to Bishop Landolf's appeals for imperial support for his designs to augment his own authority. Although these attempts failed, after the death of his brother Pando in 863 Landolf ruled Capua as Bishop and count until his death in 879.

Nevertheless this example was far from ordinary and indeed there are a number of factors which suggest that relatively good relations existed between the monasteries and the Lombard bishops in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Throughout the period under discussion we find that Bishops were monastic patrons. In 795 Bishop David of Benevento during the fourteenth year of his episcopate, donated the church of S.Felice in Monte Marano to Abbess Auflada and the convent of San Maria in Loco Sano[1] Moreover in 833, prince Sicard confirmed the monastery of S.Vincenzo's possession of the church of S.Secundo in Acerintinis which had been donated to the same abbey by Bishop Pietro of Benevento.[2] And in 970 Bishop

[1] CV I Doc.33 pp.248-249.
[2] CV I Doc.57 pp.292-293.

Arderico of Isernia donated his own church of S.Rosso near Sessa in loco Monticella to the same house.[1]

These donations made on the part of these Bishops may have been made for a number of reasons. Firstly it has been argued that contemporaries fully recognised that accepting and encouraging monastic ownership of churches was perhaps the most effective way of ensuring that a church was properly serviced in an age in which ecclesiastical structures were weak. The donation made by Bishop David of Benevento certainly suggests that such concerns may have played a part in motivating the bishop to make his donation. In that case the church of S.Felice was in a ruinous condition and had been for some time. By donating the church to S.Maria he was guaranteeing that the church would be restored and serviced by the convent of S.Maria which was itself under the jurisdiction of the Abbot of S.Vincenzo al Volturno. Moreover the redemptive qualities associated with making donations to monasteries was no less true for bishops than it was for any other individual in society.

Clearly, bishops, as with any other member of society, required to partake of the benefactions of monastic patronage. In the above examples no evidence has been found which links these bishops to the monasteries prior to the date of the respective donations. And, apart from that of Bishop David of Benevento in 795 there is no

[1] CV II Doc.138 pp.211-213.

reason to question the donations as anything other than expressions of genuine piety, through which the grantor would receive expiation from sin and final redemption. In all of the donation charters listed above the patron articulates the reason for his donation through the phrase, "pro mercede anime nostre" and "pro mercede et redemcione anime mee". Although it is undoubtedly true that many documentary phrases were notarial conventions we go too far if we argue that this was the case in all charters of donation to religious houses; or indeed that 'phrases' were any less real in respect of their intrinsic meaning simply because their inclusion in a charter suggested adherence to tradition; it may simply reflect continuity of accepted belief. Convention did not necessarily negate sincerity or belief in the actual eschatological redemptive quality which would be received through patronising monastic houses.

Furthermore there is a body of evidence from ninth and tenth century southern Italy which indicates that the local bishops were unconcerned about the extension of monastic control over rural churches. These sources are the decrees of a church council held in Benevento in the ninth century, and the prevalence of the so-called cartae libertatis - these were charters issued by bishops in favour of monasteries which granted the abbey full rights over the churches in its possession together with exemption from episcopal control.

First the council held in Benevento. The decrees of this council were edited and published by D.G.Morin in 1900. The same scholar also pointed out that this council had been attended by "plusiers évêques", and this is a significant point when one considers the nature of the decrees which were promulgated at the council.[1]

Had the Bishops been overly concerned about the role that the monasteries were performing in ecclesiastical organisation then one would have expected such concerns to have been articulated in the synodal decrees. However, there was no mention in the chapters of the synod of monastic church ownership, nor of monks performing the cura animarum, both of which were widely practised by the Latin monasteries of southern Italy. In this respect the canons of the Beneventan synod stand in sharp contrast to decrees promulgated by church councils held in northern Europe nearly all of which devoted at least one chapter to eradicating monastic activity in ecclesiastical organisation. On the contrary, as Huguette Taviani-Carozzi noted "ce concile traite principalement de la discipline de clercs et par le biais de églises privées et des pratiques matrimoniales, de celle des laics".[2]

This suggests that monastic involvement in ecclesiastical organisation was of little importance to those Lombard bishops who attended the council and indeed

[1] G.Morin, 'Un concile inédit tenu dans l'Italie meridionale à la fin du IXe siecle', Revue Bénédictine 18 (1900) pp.147-151.
[2] H.Taviani-Carozzi, op.cit., p.654.

their main concern appears to have been with the overall depressed state of the church in southern Italy which "per neglectiam et populi oppressionem aut quomodocumque evenerit in ruinam."[1]

A more direct example of episcopal endorsement of monastic control of rural churches was expressed through the issuing of cartae libertatis. Fonseca has made a convincing case for these charters as being one way in which the bishops could deal with the complex problem of private churches, including monastic churches. He has argued that these charters, which were granted by the bishops, were a form of compromise between the rights claimed by the bishops themselves and the pretensions of the Eigenkirchenherren.

Most of these charters date to the second half of the ninth century up to the end of the tenth century and cover almost all of the southern Lombard territories, including Capua, Caiazzo, Salerno, Paestum, Lucera, Canosa, Brindisi and Benevento.[2]

In 879 Bishop Aio of Benevento issued such a charter in favour of Abbot Pietro of the monastery of S.Modesto in Benevento.[3] In this charter Aio granted S.Modesto perpetual immunity from episcopal jurisdiction over the churches of the diocese which were in the possession of

[1] G.Morin, op.cit., c.11.
[2] C.D.Fonseca, op.cit., pp.
[3] Le più antiche carte dell'abbazia di San Modesto in Benevento, sec. VIII-XIII. A Cura Di Franco Bartolini (Roma 1950). pp

the monastery (eight churches in all).

These charters were common to southern Italy. As Huguette Taviani-Carozzi has written with reference to the carta libertatis which was issued in 887 by Bishop Pietro of Salerno in favour of the monastery of San Massimo,[1] "La carta libertatis est une nouvelle forme d'alienation des droits de l'église salernitaine opérée dans le respect de la loi lombarde et du formalisme juridique".[2]

These charters had a long history in ecclesiastical administration in the Lombard principalities of southern Italy. Although the charter issued by Bishop Aio of Benevento in 879 is the oldest extant full charter there are indications that such documents were issued upwards of a century prior to that date. For example, in a charter issued by Duke Arichis II in 769 there is reference to a "membranum firmitatis et absolutionis" which Bishop Giovanni of Benevento had issued in favour of Abbot Garolino concerning the churches of S.Maria and S.Marcian which the abbot had founded.[3]

There is one other factor which requires consideration: that is the prevalence of monk-bishops in Southern Italy. Monk-Bishops were not an irregular phenomenon in the history of Western Christianity. As in the case of the monk-priests there was no basic incompatibility between serving both the secular clergy

[1] CDC II Doc.236 p.64.
[2] H.Taviani-Carozzi, op.cit., p.660.
[3] CSS col.464.

and the monastic cloisters. For example monk-bishops were found in Gaul as early as the fourth and fifth centuries.[1]

A highly influential precedent for this had been set by Pope Gregory the Great who had been a monk, a priest and a bishop before his election to the Pontifical throne. And in Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries some very close affiliations between bishops and monasteries can be demonstrated. Indeed monasteries were well known for supplying bishops for the local towns. In the case of Montecassino for example and the neighbouring town of Teano. About the year 860, while Abbot Berthario ruled in Montecassino, we find that Bishop Hilarius of Teano had been a diaconus et monachus of Montecassino.[2] Likewise, Bishop Leo of Teano had been a monk at the same abbey.[3] When Bishop Aio of Benevento died in 886 he was succeeded by one Pietro in his episcopate.[4] Although there is no more than circumstantial evidence it is curious that some seven years earlier Bishop Aio had granted a carta libertatis to an Abbot Pietro of the Beneventan monastery of S.Modesto.[5] Unfortunately little is known about the

[1] Paul Remy Oliger. Les évêques réguliers.(Paris-Louvain) 1958. pp17-18.
[2] F.Ughelli, Italia Sacra Tome 6 col 551. See also Chron.San.Ben. Chapter 12, p.475.
[3] F.Ughelli, Italia Sacra, Tome 6 col 551
[4] Gli Annales Beneventani. ed by O.Bertolini. BISI 42 (Roma 1923) pp.1-163. (p.117).
[5] Le più antiche carte dell'abbazia di San Modesto in Benevento, sec. VIII-XIII. A Cura Di Franco Bartolini (Roma 1950).

origins of Bishop Pietro and Alfredo Zazo's article on this particular bishop has shed little light on the Pietro's provenance.[1] Considering the information outlined above, however, it may be that Abbot Pietro of S.Modesto and Bishop Pietro of Benevento were one and the same.

This practice was of course not unique to southern Italy, and some of the most influential church figures of ninth century Europe had been monks and abbots. Perhaps the most notable example was Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who was himself succeeded in 881 as Archbishop of Rheims by Abbot Fulk of the monastery of S.Bertin.[2] However some of the best examples of this practice were found in Anglo-Saxon England. As early as 668 Pope Vitalian consecrated the monk Theodore of Tarsus as the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was this Theodore who was to give 'unity and organization to a distracted church' in England.[3]

The elevation of these monks to high ecclesiastical office did not prevent them from maintaining close relations with their mother house. They could and often did work together, in order to serve mutual political

[1] A.Zazo, 'Un Vescovo Beneventano Del IX Secolo"Petrus Sagacissimus" ', Samnium 23 (1950) pp.179-187.
[2] J.F.Lemarignier, 'Encadrement Religieux Des Campagnes Et Conjoncture Politique Dans Les Régions Du Royaume De France Situées Au Nord De La Loire,De Charles Le Chauve Aux Derniers Carolingiens (840-987)' SSCI 28 (1982) p.791.
[3] F.Stenton. Anglo-Saxon England 3rd Edition Reprint. (Oxford 1987) pp.130-139.

interests. For example Leo of Ostia, in a reference dating to about 879 informs us that it was the above named Bishop Leo of Teano who together with Abbot Berthario of Montecassino attempted to dissuade Pope John VIII from listening to the appeals of Bishop Landolf of Capua who was at that time trying to enlist papal support, in order to increase his own authority in Southern Italy.

Apart from direct patronage Bishops were also indirectly involved in enlisting support for various monasteries at the royal courts. In particular Bishop Pietro of Capua, on two occasions requested ruling princes to make confirmations of ownership of territory to Montecassino and Abbot Giovanni.[1] Some years later, in 944, Bishop Adelpert had a say in the donation of fishing rights made in favour of the same monastery by the princes Landolf II and Pandolf I.[2] In 966 Bishop Giovanni of Capua requested that his brothers the princes Pandolf I and Landolf III should issue a confirmation charter in favour of Montecassino and Abbot Aligern.[3]

As with the cases already cited above no evidence has yet been found which links these bishops with the monasteries. However, the possibility that they had a close relationship with the monasteries must be seen as a

[1] Orig. Arch Montecassino X no 26 and 925. And Ibid., no 19 and 930
[2] Gatt Acc pp.53-54.
[3] Gatt.Acc p.62.

high probability in light of the role that these bishops had in either directly donating land and churches to the monasteries or indirectly by persuading the princes to issue confirmations of charters in favour of particular monasteries.

It is certain for example that monks who became bishops retained strong loyalties towards their mother houses on account of one significant factor: the authority of the Rule of St.Benedict and the influence it exerted over all monks, and specifically in respect of monk-bishops.

Paul Rémy Oliger in 1958 touched upon monk-bishops when he argued that they remained monks although free from the obligations of stability and obedience.[1] However, although it was true that bishops certainly remained monks they also remained obedient to the commands of their abbot and to the Rule of St.Benedict.

This is clearly outlined in the Rule. First of all the Rule stresses and highlights time and again the concept that 'obedience' was a direct path to redemption and salvation. Benedict makes this clear in the opening lines of the Prologue to his Rule:

> Ausculta,o fili, praecepta magistri, et inclina aurem cordis tui et admonitionem pii patris libenter excipe et efficaciter comple; ut ad eum per obedientiae laborem redeas, a quo per inobedientiae desidiam recesseras. Ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo dirigitur, quisquis abrenuntians propriis voluntatibus, Domino Christo vero Regi militaturas, obedientiae fortissima atque

[1] P.R.Oliger, op.cit.,

praeclara arma sumis.[1]

The tenet that obedience was a path to redemption was again stressed in chapter 5 of the Rule at which stage Benedict states that the first degree of humility was in fact obedience:

> Primus humilitatis gradus est obedientia sine mora. .....Propter servitium sanctum quod professi sunt seu propter metum gehennae vel gloriam vitae aeternae, mox aliquid imperatum a majore fuerit, ac si divinitus imperitur, moram pati nesciant in faciendo.[2]

The third degree of humility as outlined in Chapter 7 of the Rule also has a direct bearing on the attitude of bishops towards the monasteries. In this case Benedict wrote:

> Tertius humilitatis gradus est, ut quis pro Dei amore omni obedientia se subdat majori, imitans Dominum de quo dicit apostolus: Factus obediens usque ad mortem.[3]

Benedict's achievement in these first few chapters of his Rule therefore was essential for developing close ties between monk-bishops and their abbots: in the prologue, for example, it is made clear that obedience led directly to redemption on the Day of Judgement; the importance of obedience for monks was again stressed by making it the first degree of humility stating that they should obey because of the fear of hell and for the glory of life everlasting and in Chapter 7 where it was stated that "a man for the love of God

[1] The Rule of Saint Benedict Ed and Trans Justin McCann, (London 1952) p.6.
[2] Ibid., p.32.
[3] Ibid., p.42.

subject himself to his superior in all things".[1]

The overwhelming stress which was laid on obedience in these Chapters of the Rule must now be seen in relation to Chapter 62 of the Rule which deals with the ordination of priests from among the ranks of the monks. In this chapter it is clear that the ordination of monks, rather than driving a wedge between the monk-priest/bishop and his abbot, drew these two offices closer together since the anointed monk was instructed to be all the more subject to the discipline of the monastery. With regard to any monk who had been ordained a priest Benedict wrote:

> Ordinatus autem caveat elationem aut superbiam; nec quidquam praesumat nisi quod ei ab abbate praecepitur, sciens se multo magis disciplinae regulari subdendum. Nec occasione sacerdotii oblviscatur regulae obedientiam et disciplinam, sed magis ac magis in Deum proficiat.[2]

If a monk was ordained there was therefore an even greater emphasis placed on his duty to obey the wishes of his abbot. The monk-bishop's superior therefore remained his abbot, and, in theory, he could do nothing if not commanded by the abbot.

In short it was impossible for a monk to be anything other than a monk. He became a priest/bishop only at the command of the abbot. And with each stage the Rule bound the the monk more closely to observance of the holy labour of obedience to the abbot. And according to the rule failure to obey could result in everlasting

[1] Ibid., p.42.
[2] Ibid., p.140.

hell (that is the 3rd degree of humility). These were powerful symbols and images which in practice bound the monk-priest and monk-bishop tightly to their monastery and to the rule of their abbots. They were Bishops precisely because their abbots wished them to be so.

There is one source from southern Italy which helps to illustrate the nature of the relationship between the monks and the bishops and also allows us an insight into the nature of the role of the bishop in society. This is the Vita Antonini abbatis Surrentini.

The anonymous author of the life of S.Antoninus lived shortly after the saint's time (died 14 February 830) and it is generally accepted that his account is probably trustworthy in its main features.

The basic narrative of the Life runs as follows; at a young age Antoninus entered a monastery which was under the rule of Montecassino. However due to the ravages of Prince Sico of Benevento he was forced to leave the abbey and he travelled to Cestellamare near Sorrento, where he formed a close friendship with Bishop Catellus.

The two men lived and worked together and when Bishop Catellus felt drawn to lead for a while a solitary life he committed to Antoninus "pastoralis curae regimen" of his diocese. This suggests that Antoninus had been ordained, thus enabling him to care for Catellus' diocese. It may be the case that he was ordained by Catellus himself.

After some time Antoninus followed his friend and they shared a vision of S.Michael which caused them to build an oratory in his honour. Bishop Catellus was soon recalled to Sorrento on a charge of neglecting his diocese and was soon summoned to Rome and imprisoned on a false accusation.

Antoninus continued to live on the peak which came to be known as Monte Angelo and was soon to become a famous place of pilgrimage. After a time the population of Sorrento begged him to come and minister to them while their Bishop Catellus was held prisoner in Rome. In response to their pleas Antoninus left the solitary life and entered the monastery of S.Agrippinus where he later became abbot.

This life tells us a great deal about the close relationship which existed between the monks and bishops in southern Italy in the ninth century. Antoninus and Catellus not only worked together but it was possible that Catellus ordained Antoninus so that he could look after his diocese when he wished to follow the ascetic life of solitude and prayer.

It is also highly probable that Catellus himself had been a monk. Certainly his desire to follow a life of solitude on a mountain top was an action more closely linked to the coenobitical eremitical tradition than to the ecclesiastical office of bishop.

It is also significant that when Catellus was in

prison the Sorrentans turned to a Antoninus for help. However, it must be remembered that by that time he had been ordained and had already administered to the Sorrentans.

Conclusion

The Latin monasteries of the Lombard principalities of southern Italy made a considerable contribution to the ecclesiastical organisation of the region. They held proprietary rights over a large number of churches which were widely dispersed throughout the territories of Benevento, Salerno and Capua and the collected revenue from a significant number of these churches.

The churches were in turn served by ordained monks who performed the cura animarum in the monastic estates; and the abbots also exercised a great degree of control over many of the Lombard bishops a considerable number of whom had been monks.

There were of course broad parallels with the nature of ecclesiastical organisation in northern Europe - for example all European abbeys possessed churches: in the case of monk-priests the current debate (in respect of both southern and central and northern Europe) is not whether or not monks were ordained, but focuses rather, on an analysis of the nature of monastic ordination and the extent to which these ordained monks served the altars of monastic rural churches. And throughout the whole of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries we have

examples of ordained monks being elevated to the position of bishop.

However, despite these broad parallels, when we examine the situation more closely it becomes clear that the stimulus behind monastic involvement in ecclesiastical organisation in southern Italy was the result of specifically local factors and that the nature of this involvement was expressed in a strictly ethnic context particularly through continual recourse to 'tradition' in southern Lombard ecclesiastical organisation and in their widespread disregard for external ecclesiastical influences or directives which opposed or threatened the grip that the Lombard monastic houses had on ecclesiastical organisation. As with similar examples in the political sphere Lombard monks only appealed to outside authorities, be that the empire or the papacy, when they wished to preserve their own rights. If an imperial or synodal decree stood in opposition to Lombard 'tradition' in ecclesiastical organisation then such decrees were simply ignored. What the monastic communities themselves thought of as 'tradition' can be easily summed up: that is monastic possession of churches, rural monastic churches served by ordained priests, and specific monastic role in the provision of adequately trained men who could serve as bishops. How did these traditions arise?

Southern Italy had for many years prior to the ninth

and tenth centuries been predisposed towards allowing for monastic participation in pastoral duties and ecclesiastical organisation. For years the diocesan church structure in southern Italy had been unstable and fragile. The ecclesiastical organisation in southern Italy had been seriously weakened on account of the disruption caused by the Gothic wars and the Lombard invasions of the sixth century.

Monasteries themselves suffered in this period : the community at Montecassino for example was forced to flee the mother house in 581, only a few decades after its foundation in 529.[1] However the lack of references to bishops in the extant source material from the late sixth century on is most marked. The apparent decline in the number of Southern Italian bishops from the fifth century onwards may be seen as a symptom of a real decline in the number of functional episcopal sees in Southern Italy.

At a council held in Rome in 455 we find that one of the bishops in attendance was one Concordius the head of the episcopal see of Accerra. Concordio however was the last Bishop of Accerra mentioned in any source until 1179 when we find Bishop Bartholomaeus.[2] Similarly, at a council held in Rome in 499 under Pope Symachus the representative from the see of Venafro was Bishop Constantius, the last bishop of Venafro to be found in

[1] In the dating of the foundation of Montecassino I accept that given by Herbert Bloch.
[2] Ughelli, Italia Sacra, VI col.217.

the sources until Bishop Atenolf in 1032.[1] On a closer examination of the extant source material these lengthy lacunae in references to bishops were a common factor throughout southern Italy. The dates when the Bishops tend to 'disappear' from the sources suggests that a decline had began before the onset of the Lombards incursions. It was a decline however which the sixth century invasions and ensuing dislocation undoubtedly catalysed into further rapid deterioration. Although the lack of references to bishops may to some extent have been due to the paucity of the source material or to the difficulty of drawing up written records in a period of social and military upheaval, the extent and longevity of the omission of bishops from any sources suggests strongly that there was a real decline in their numbers rather than simply a result of difficulties experienced in drawing up written records.

There are a number of other factors which suggest a severely weakened episcopal infrastructure; for example the number of ruined and dilapidated churches which existed throughout Southern Italy and also the number of churches which were owned by the nobility who in turn considered them to be their own inalienable possessions.

The main evidence for above statements comes from the many lay donation charters issued in favour of the monasteries. These charters which date from the eighth

[1] Ughelli, Itallia Sacra, VI, col.583.

through to the tenth century often included churches along with the lands which pertained to them. The bulk of such donations occurred in the latter half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century. Herbert Bloch has made a detailed study of the possessions of Montecassino,[1] however the number of churches donated to and possessed by the monasteries of S.Vincenzo al Volturno and S.Sophia in Benevento are equally impressive and worthy of study.

The fact that so many churches were apparently in lay possession suggests that there had been for a number of years a clear weakness in ecclesiastical control of church property. Furthermore, it is also evident from the donation charters that some churches were ruinous and had been vacant and unserviced for some considerable time. For example in 795 Bishop David of Benevento donated to the convent of S.Maria in Loco Sano, at that time under the rule of Abbess Auflada, the church of S.Felicitas in Monte Marano which, it was claimed, had been in disrepair for many years.[2]

We can extrapolate two conclusions from the above examples: firstly that the church in southern Italy had been weak for many years prior to the ninth and tenth centuries and that this weakness in turn had helped to create conditions favourable to the development of

[1] H.Bloch, Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages. 3 Volumes.(Rome, 1986.)
[2] CV I. Doc 33. pp.248-249.

monastic involvement in ecclesiastical organisation and pastoral functions. Such a weak ecclesiastical infrastructure not only allowed the monasteries to develop an active role in the ecclesiastical organisation, but in fact forced them into fulfilling that function. At a basic level monasticism in Southern Italy was brought into direct contact with rural churches which the monks would then have to service.

As for the Benedictine Rule it is evident that all contemporary scholars who have researched the monasticism of the ninth and tenth centuries and in particular the phenomenon of the 'monk-priest', have agreed that the guidance offered by the Rule was an essential element in allowing for the ordination of monks. In this context it is important to reflect on the statement made by Jozsef Lukas who pointed out that 'cultures themselves shape their specific features by the reception and transformation of external impacts, just as they, too, exercise some kind of influence upon other cultures'.[1]

This statement can be applied to the example of the relationship between the Benedictine Rule and the Lombards. For example although the Rule was of a south Italian provenance it was of course formulated by Benedict of Nursia prior to the Lombard invasions. However, this factor poses no great problems when considering the ethnic characteristics of monasticism in

[1] J.Lukacs "On the Commensurability of Cultural Systems" Philosophy and Culture p.10.

southern Italy, since the Rule was adopted as a working rule for the lives of the monks in the monasteries which were founded or refounded by the Lombard aristocracy in the seventh and eighth centuries. The fact that the Benedictine Rule was fully accepted by the Lombard monasteries, simply illustrates the point outlined above that all cultures shape their own characteristics by the reception and transformation of external impacts. The crucial fact is that the Rule which was so fundamental to the growth and development of European monasticism in the ninth and tenth centuries had been fully absorbed into the Lombard monastic world for almost one hundred years prior to its gradual spread to the other regions of Europe in the late eighth century. Thus when Charlemagne, and later Benedict of Aniane, looked to the Benedictine Rule as the desired regulatory foundation of all coenobitic life they were not advocating an entirely new mode of practice in medieval European monastic life. They were simply adopting practices which already existed in southern Italy. That is to say, the basic tenets of Benedict of Aniane's 'reform' had been in place in southern Italy for almost 100 years.

The monastic role in ecclesiastical organisation was well established by the ninth century and this tradition was further strengthened throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. For example, the south remained unaffected by conciliar legislation even in the example of Bishop

Hemerissi of Benevento's dispute with the convent of S.Maria in Loco sano over the possession of the baptismal church of S.Felice we can only tentatively suggest that the Bishop may have been referring to the edicts of the Council of Rome of 826 to substantiate his claims over the church of S.Felice. But of greater significance was the response of Prince Sicard and his judges who found in favour of the rights of the convent of S.Maria according to the legitimacy which was defined by reference to Lombard traditions.

Thus in the sphere of the monastic role in ecclesiastical organisation the recurring impression is that of a monastic culture which was accutely aware of its own identity, which responded to local factors and accepted (through time) their responses to these factors as part of Lombard custom. They acted and reacted to stimuli in terms which were clearly defined as Lombard and by the same token defined outside forces and 'impacts' as non-Lombard.

Only with the acculturation of external 'impacts' over some years would they gradually be absorbed as part of the Lombard ethnic identity and only if the Lombards themselves desired to receive such external impacts. In the case of conciliar legislation which stood diametrically opposed to southern monastic structure which through the passage of time had come to be classed as Lombard tradition the official edicts of the church

councils stood little chance of being accepted. The nature of the monastic role in ecclesiastical organisation illustrates time and again elements which lead one to recognise a Lombard ethnic identity expressed as potently in the monastic orbit as it clearly was in the political. It was an identity which the monasteries not only shared but which they also perpetuated and strengthened through an intricate ecclesiastical network which included the ownership of churches which were widely dispersed throughout southern Italy, and influential monk-priests and monk-bishops.

PART V

Monastic Expansion: Local Factors and Ethnic Identity

Introduction

The excavations at the site of S.Vincenzo al Volturno have established that the abbey was one of the largest and wealthiest monastic centres in early medieval Europe. The period of most extensive physical expansion undertaken at S.Vincenzo can be dated fairly accurately to the end of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century. During this era the monastery was under the rule of four abbots: Paul(783-792), Iosue(792-817), Talaricus(817-823), and Epiphanius(824-842). Since the first season of excavations in 1980, Dr Richard Hodges and a number of his colleagues (who were involved with the excavations in one role or another) have maintained that this dramatic period of expansion at S.Vincenzo was the direct result of Carolingian patronage. In a number of articles published since 1980, it has been stressed time and again that both Charlemagne and Louis the Pious played a key role in the monastic growth witnessed at S.Vincenzo in this period.

Contrary to this hypothesis, however, it will be demonstrated in this section of the thesis that the initial motives and resources necessary for the physical expansion of the monastery of S.Vincenzo between 783 and 842 were firmly rooted in the regional context of the Lombard principality of southern Italy. Furthermore, it

will also become evident that monastic culture in southern Italy was both a dramatic expression of, and the driving force behind the propagation and expression of Lombard ethnic identity which in turn was the central creative impulse behind cultural expression through monasticism.

Although necessarily concentrating on S.Vincenzo al Volturno, the other major monasteries in the Lombard principalities will be drawn into the discussion by way of parallels and comparisons and also in order to paint as broad and complete a picture of monasticism in southern Italy at the time.

The dual themes of the regional context of monastic expansion and ethnic identity as expressed in monastic culture will be explored in three sections. The first section will concentrate on a discussion of the documentary grounds for Richard Hodges' thesis seen against the background of the regional economic and cultural expansion in the latter half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century.

The second section will consider in detail the nature and significance of artistic influences. Such a discussion is necessary since much has been made about the northern artistic influences apparent in the visual art work at S.Vincenzo. For example, the influx of northern ideas has been interpreted as a culturally submissive acceptance of a northern, and in Hodges' case

a Carolingian, ideology. Clearly R.Hodges has not given due consideration to the exact nature of the process of acculturation.[1]

The third section will examine those elements of monastic activity which clearly demonstrate a powerful Lombard ethnic identity specifically and dramatically expressed within the monastic environment. This will include a discussion of the tradition of writing ethnic histories, which was well established in southern Italy and which is one of the most fundamental expressions of ethnic identity. Within this bracket one finds the monks, Erchempert and the author of the Chronicon Salernitanum.

This same section will also explore the significance to ethnic identity of the Lombard laws and the ways in which they affected the monks of southern Italy. The monastic documents will also be examined for the

[1] When discussing the process of cross-cultural influences and interaction it is useful to use the term 'acculturation'.The usual definition of 'acculturation' is as follows: 'Acculturation- This term is used to describe both the process of contacts between different cultures and also the outcome of such contacts.As the process of contacts between cultures, acculturation may involve either direct social interaction or exposure to other cultures by means of mass media communication. As the outcome of such contact, acculturation refers to the assimilation by one group of the culture of another which modifies the existing culture and so changes group identity. There may be a tension between old and new cultures which leads to the adaptation of the new as well as the old'. The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan.S.Turner. (London, 2nd ed.1988). pp.1-2.

existence of expressions denoting ethnic identities. A reference in a document to the effect that one man is a 'Frank' an 'Arab' or a 'Greek', is a crucial subjective marker of ethnic awareness and the classification of society into groups. Furthermore, when this occurs within one group of documents which do not mark Lombards in the same way then we can safely assume that these documents have been drafted within a culturally Lombard ethnic ethos.

A. Expansion at S.Vincenzo: the Regional Context

The scale of the aggrandisement of S.Vincenzo between 782 and 842 was impressive. For most of the eighth century the monastery covered a small area with a rather primitive white washed church with a brick altar. There is no reason to doubt Richard Hodges' claim that the community itself was small in number and drawn from the monastery's own locality.[1] However, at the end of the eighth century and during the first half of the ninth century the abbey was dramatically transformed into a complex which covered some 5 hectares and which included opulent buildings embellished with rich and impressive works of art. The architectural transformation of the

[1] R,Hodges,'Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno: a regional and international centre from A.D. 400-1100', San Vincenzo al Volturno. The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery. Edited by Richard Hodges and John Mitchell. (Oxford,1985). p.26.

monastery may have been initiated by Abbot Paul(783-792)[1] and was definitely sustained by Abbot Iosue through to Abbot Epiphanius. The result of the building activities under these abbots was to create a monastery of "impressive size and enormity" almost a town in scale, as Richard Hodges stated; "few other monasteries and almost no other centres at that time in Europe would have been larger.[2]

As intimated above the prevalent view accepted and postulated by a number of scholars, primarily Richard Hodges, John Mitchell and John Moreland, is that this expansion can only be explained in terms of Carolingian patronage and the spread of ideologies founded in the

[1] We know from the Chronicon Vulturnense for example, that Abbot Paul constructed the church of S.Maria Minor within the monastic complex and iuxta flumen. See CV I p.204.

[2] R.Hodges, op.cit., p.27.

'Carolingian Renaissance'.[1] Richard Hodges for example maintained that successive abbots had established close ties with the Carolingian court and that, as a result, the monastery prospered.[2] This same point of view was restated by Hodges in 1985 when commenting on the political aspect of Carolingian monastic patronage he claimed that "the Carolingians....invested in S.Vincenzo and Montecassino as centres which might come to

[1] There is a lengthy bibliography regarding works which interpret the building activity at S.Vincenzo in relation to Carolingian patronage. This includes:R.Hodges, and D.Whitehouse, Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe (London, 1983).R.Hodges, J.Moreland, and H.Patterson,H; "San Vincenzo al Volturno, The Kingdom of Benevento and the Carolingians." in Papers in Italian Archaeology IV. The Cambridge Conference. Part IV. Classical and Medieval Archaeology. Edited by Caroline Malone and Simon Stoddart. (Oxford,1985).R.Hodges, "Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno: a regional and international centre from A.D. 400-1100" , San Vincenzo al Volturno. The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery. Edited by Richard Hodges and John Mitchell. (Oxford,1985). pp.1-35.R.Hodges; "Excavations at Vaccherecia (Rochetta Nuova): A Later Roman and Early Medieval Settlement in the Volturno Valley, Molise", in Papers of the British School at Rome. Volume LII (London 1984) pp.148-194.R.Hodges, 'The San Vincenzo Project: Preliminary Review of the Excavations and Surveys at San Vincenzo al Volturno and in its Terra', Structures de L'Habitat et Occupation Du Sol Dans Les Pays Méditerraneéns Les Méthodes et L'Apport De L'Archéologie Extensive (Castrum 2) Actes de L'encontre. Ed. G.Noyé (Rome-Madrid 1988). J.Mitchell, "The Painted Decoration of the Early Medieval Monastery", San Vincenzo the Art and Territory etc pp125-176. J.Mitchell, 'Literacy displayed: the use of inscriptions at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the early ninth century', The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe. Ed. R.McKitterick. (Cambridge 1990) pp.186-225.

[2] R.Hodges,'Excavations at Vaccherecia....' p.150.

manipulate the Beneventans".[1] Similarly, John Mitchell, in a paper which examined the use of literacy at the monastery claimed that "the prodigal display of painted imagery and decoration at S.Vincenzo in the late eighth and ninth centuries has to be understood in the context of the rapidly increasing production and exploitation of visual imagery in the Carolingian empire during this period".[2]

The most categorical exposition of this 'Carolingian' hypothesis appeared in an article published in 1985 and titled, "S.Vincenzo al Volturno, the Kingdom of Benevento and the Carolingians".[3] The article was a joint publication by Richard Hodges, John Moreland and Helen Patterson, and included a sub-section with the revealing title of "the Carolingian Connection: S.Vincenzo's raison d'être". In this paper it was claimed that there was 'a substantial body of evidence ....archaeological and documentary for a Carolingian interest in the ninth century monastery and for the latter being the product of international (ie.

[1] R.Hodges,'Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno....' p.27.

[2] J.Mitchell, 'Literacy displayed....' p.220.

[3] R.Hodges, J.Moreland, and H.Patterson, "San Vincenzo al Volturno, The Kingdom of Benevento....' The authors of this article made a conspicuous mistake in referring to Benevento as a 'kingdom'.Prior to 774 Benevento was a duchy, and after that date was a principality. It never was a 'kingdom'.

Carolingian) patronage'.[1] The authors explained that "the political and ideological climate in the Empire at he time, and especially in the area of Benevento, made it necessary for the Carolingians to have an obvious expressive symbol of their presence and control in this area. The need for this symbolization in a peripheral province is the reason for the patronage and the aggrandizement of S.vincenzo al Volturno".[2]

These scholars relied heavily on the documentary evidence of Carolingian patronage at S.Vincenzo. However, is the extant evidence as significant and authentic as they would have us believe? The evidence comes exclusively from the twelfth-century Chronicon Vulturnense of John the Monk, and exists in two forms: firstly as transcribed documents attributed to Charlemagne and Louis the Pious and secondly, in the body of John's narrative itself.

As far as the documents are concerned the evidence for major patronage is wanting. Of the five charters which John the Monk has ascribed to Charlemagne three are undoubted forgeries while the two whose veracity is not doubted are simple confirmations of property already in

[1] Ibid., p.276.
[2] Ibid., p.276.

monastic possession.[1] For example, the Chronicon includes the Prologus Petri Presbyteri et Monachi in vita vel obitu Sanctorum Patrum Paldonis, Tatonis et Tasonis, which contains an account of Charlemagne's visit to the abbey as well as a charter of confirmation and donation attributed to the Frankish king. However, Vincenzo Federici, who edited the Chronicon in the 1920's proved conclusively that the Prologus was a poor forgery which displayed many chronological and formulaic errors. The chronological discrepancies are the most glaring. Peter, for example, claims to be writing his Prologus during the abbacy of Taso(721-739) and consequently had to date the integral charter appropriately. The latter is dated to 715; six years before Taso's election and even pre-dating Charlemagne's birth. Federici has also convincingly argued that the author had made use of the works of Leo of Ostia. This suggests that the work may have been written some time after 1034 and that it was possibly written in response to the claims which were at that time being made by the monastery of Farfa. It was in 1034 that this latter monastery received a confirmation from the

[1] The documents in the Chronicon which relate to Charlemagne are as follows:CV I Doc.10 p.140. A forgery.Ibid., Doc.19 pp.183-186. A forgery. Ibid., Doc.20 pp.186-189. A forgery.Ibid., Doc.26 pp.211-212. Confirmation relating to property in Valley Trita.Ibib., Doc.27 pp.212-215. Confirmation of possession of the monasteries of S.Peters in Benevento, S.Maria in Loco Sano, and S.Maria in Apinianici. This latter charter also confered an immunity on the monastery with the right of free election of the abbot.

emperor Henry II which included S.Vincenzo as a dependency.[1]

The two documents which were undoubtedly issued by Charlemagne were executed at Capua in 787. The Frankish king was encamped in the latter town during his southern expedition to force the submission of the Lombard prince Arichis II. In these examples, however, there was no reference to a royal visit to the monastery or to the donation of lavish gifts. Furthermore, 787 was the earliest date that Charlemagne was in southern Italy and yet the construction of new buildings at S.Vincenzo began many years before the arrival of Charlemagne in the south. Abbot Atto(739-760) for example, supervised the construction of a new abbey church dedicated to S.Peter.

The overall pattern is the same when one considers the case for Louis the Pious. Of the four documents in the Chronicon relating to this Frankish king one is an undoubted forgery while the other three which contain many interpolations are nonetheless simple confirmations of property already in monastic possession.[2] It is difficult, therefore, to read too much into the documentary sources as far as estimating the level of Carolingian patronage of the monastery of S.Vincenzo is concerned. Indeed, Hubert Houben has highlighted the

[1] CV I p.162.
[2] For documents attributed to Louis the Pious see;
CV I Doc.28. pp.223-225.
Ibid., Doc.29 pp.232-238.
Ibid., Doc.55 pp.289-290.
Ibid., Doc.63 pp.308-312.

relative paucity of Carolingian documents in respect of both S.Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino from the late eighth century through to 881.[1] This important fact was also (ironically) recognised by John Mitchell who stated that Charlemagne "conferred few direct gifts on the abbey."[2]

The narrative of John the Monk, however, contains specific and dramatic 'evidence' of the close ties between the Carolingian court and S.Vincenzo. The chronicler explains that Abbot Iosue's (792-817) sister married Louis the Pious and that Iosue himself had been educated at the Carolingian royal court.[3] He goes on to claim that Louis the Pious together with his wife, visited the monastery on two occasions. It was also claimed that Louis gave the monastery many gifts and that he ordered the dismantling of a templum antiquissimum in territorio Capuano to provide the building materials for a new church erected within the monastic complex and dedicated to S.Vincenzo.[4]

John the Monk's evidence is, however, fraught with problems. None of the claims made by the chronicler can be substantiated and indeed many of them are basically false. Nonetheless, it is this very evidence which the

[1] Houben,H. Medioevo Monastico Meridionale (Naples, 1987) p.17.

[2] J.Mitchell, 'The Painted Decoration....' p.166.

[3] CV I p.219.

[4] Ibid., pp.220-221.

pro-Carolingian school present as a dramatic indication of Frankish support for S.Vincenzo. This stance is all the more curious since these scholars also correctly state that the narrative of John the Monk must be treated with a great deal of caution. For example, Richard Hodges claimed that "the chronicle must be treated with caution as its avowed aim was to point out how important S.Vincenzo had been at a time when its fortunes were beginning to decline".[1] Similarly, John Mitchell has stated that "one has to be extremely sceptical of everything the chronicler says concerning Charlemagne's and Louis' involvement with S.Vincenzo, since it has been demonstrated that John forged a number of the diplomas confirming possessions and granting privileges to the monasteries, which purport to have been issued by the two rulers".[2]

Despite this knowledge John Mitchell continues to advocate the basic thesis which he articulated in 1985. In an article in which he discussed the painted decoration at the monastery he stated that "it is possible to understand the surge of building activity at S.Vincenzo, and the dramatic increase in the size of the monastery, in the last quarter of the eighth century and in the first half of the ninth, when six new churches were constructed, as

[1] R,Hodges,'Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno....' p.2.

[2] J,Mitchell,'Literacy displayed....' p.224.

the result of extensive Carolingian interest and patronage".[1]

This same ambivalent approach is adopted by all those scholars who advocate the argument in favour of Carolingian patronage as the major catalyst for monastic expansion at S.Vincenzo. On the one hand they accept that the evidence of John the Monk must be treated with scepticism, and they know that his narrative as it relates to Louis the Pious is unquestionably and dramatically erroneous and yet they continue to argue that Carolingian patronage under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious was the key factor in the aggrandizement of S.Vincenzo. They maintain this line from the standpoint that although John the Monk's narrative is misleading, it does contain a kernel of truth in so far as there may have been a tradition of Carolingian involvement at the monastery in the early twelfth century when John was writing the Chronicon. It should also be borne in mind that by the Norman period, when John the Monk was writing his chronicle, the Carolingian period was more 'fashionable' than under the Lombards.

While it would be oversceptical to deny that Charlemagne and Louis the Pious may have donated gifts to the monastery, it is quite another matter to use such scanty and tenuous documentary evidence that exists as a buttress to the theory that S.Vincenzo's wealth and

[1] J.Mitchell, 'The Painted Decoration....' p.167.

prestige in the first half of the ninth century was the result primarily of Carolingian patronage.

In fact the fragility of this hypothesis is apparent not only in the way these scholars overemphasise the meagre evidence for Carolingian involvement, but more noticeably through the anomalies which appear in their arguments when they touch on the true source of S.Vincenzo's wealth and prosperity. For example, in the same article in which Richard Hodges, John Moreland and Helen Patterson made the strongest case for Carolingian patronage the authors wrote that, "during the late eighth century and to a great extent during the early ninth century the monastery received large tracts of land as donations from the Beneventan secular élite. No doubt the dues and rents formerly paid to the secular elite now went to the ecclesiastical one".[1] Some years later Richard Hodges also wrote that "S.Vincenzo's overall population and, indeed, resources did include lands scattered within the kingdom of Benevento which obviously provided the monastery with much of the basis of its wealth".[2]

Although these statements point to the true source of S.Vincenzo's wealth in the late eighth and early ninth century they have not been fully explored. They indicate quite clearly, however, that Beneventan patronage may

[1] R.Hodges, J.Moreland, and H.Patterson, op.cit., p.273.
[2] R.Hodges,'The San Vincenzo Project....' p.430.

have been a major factor in the monastery's growth. This factor also suggests that the expansion at S.Vincenzo should be analysed within its regional cultural context before seeking an external impulse (ie the Carolingians) as the root of monastic growth in this period. The following argument will demonstrate that the monastic expansion at S.Vincenzo can be explained within a local context.

Before moving on to explore the local context of monastic expansion in the late eighth and early ninth century one or two points should be made at this stage concerning the nature of architectural construction in the monastic environment. As long ago as 1959 Philip Grierson made a number of pertinent comments amount the nature of commerce in the early medieval period. More particularly for this present argument he illustrated the point that 'buying was only resorted to when all else failed', by citing the case of Abbot Servatus Lupus. When this abbot wished lead for the roof of one of his churches he simply wrote to the King of Wessex asking for the metal as a gift. In this case "the lead would be paid for not in material wealth but in the promise of prayers". Grierson also referred to the example of Pope Hadrian I who had been promised 1000 pounds of lead for the repair of the roof of S.Peter's. Rather than involve traders, the pope requested that Charlemagne send the lead in the baggage of officials who happened to be

visiting Rome".[1]

These examples raise a number of questions about the growth of the monastic complex at S.Vincenzo. For example, were the new buildings paid for in cash from the monastic treasury? Were the materials required received as a gift from lay patrons (as in the examples cited by Grierson)? Were entire buildings funded by lay patrons? Unfortunately, given the nature of the source material we cannot say how a particular building project was 'funded'. It is clear, therefore, that one has to look at all possible contexts for monastic expansion in its widest form. One must also assess the probable sources leading to the impulse for extensive rebuilding programmes. The following discussion will assess all aspects of the monastic and south Italian economy in order to assess whether or not it would be capable of sustaining monastic growth at the level experienced in S.Vincenzo. It will also assess whether or not the impulse and cultural desire to rebuild and aggrandise the architectural scope of a centre such as S.Vincenzo can be identified within a regional context.

Chris Wickham saw the Beneventan context of crucial significance to the growth at the abbey. He argued that under Abbot Iosue "the abbey reached the first peak of

[1] P.Grierson,'Commerce in the Dark Ages', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th Series 9 1959 p.129. See also G.Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the West (South Carolina 1981). G.Duby, The Early Growth of the European Economy (London 1974).

its reputation, receiving large numbers of gifts from all over southern Italy. It was doubtless these gifts that funded a wave of church building in the immediate vicinity of the monastery.".[1] However this does not fully elucidate the way the monastery accumulated its wealth.

There were three major sources for the accumulation of wealth by a monastery in the early medieval period. These were:

1) gifts from princes, nobles, and dignitaries. This could include money, rich objects and above all land.

2) the sale of the surplus yielded by the landed patrimony of the monastery and;

3)through the leasing of property.[2]

This basic outline was expanded by L.J.R.Milis who added that tithes were often given to monasteries, that abbeys gathered alms and revenues through their proprietary churches stemming from liturgical activities, and also that the monastic demesne may have been composed of public rights; for example tolls on bridges, and mills.[3]

Turning first to the landed wealth of the monastery

[1] C.Wickham, "The 'terra' of San Vincenzo al Volturno....' p.231.

[2] Citarella, A.O. and Willard,H.M. The Ninth Century Treasure of Montecassino in the Context of Political and Economic Developments in South Italy. (Montecassino, 1983.) p.73.

[3] Milis,L.J.R. Angelic Monks and Earthly Men (New York 1992) p.22.

it is clear that the Carolingians played no part in expanding the monastic terra. Paldo, Tato and Taso, the founders of S.Vincenzo (c.703) were patronised by Duke Gisulf I(689-706) of Benevento. Gisulf donated a vast tract of land which was to form the nucleus of the terra of S.Vincenzo. This was later amplified by Arichis II in 758/60 who granted almost a third of the later terra.[1] It has been calculated that Gisulf's original gift must have amounted to almost 300 km² and that this vast central bloc had increased to over 400 km² by 866.[2]

Apart from these donations from the Lombard dukes the monastery also received a large number of donations from the Lombard aristocracy in the late eighth and early ninth century. The Chronicon includes transcriptions of about 20 documents relating to aristocratic patronage of the monastery between 782 and 817.[3] These included terrae throughout southern Italy although the main concentration of the land donated in this period (between 807 and 836) fitted neatly along the southern edge of the central bloc

[1] CV I Doc.12. p.154.
[2] C.Wickham, op.cit.,pp.229-231.
[3] See the following documents; CV I Doc.24,p.196; Doc 34,pp.249-251; Doc.35,pp.251-252; Doc.36,pp.253-254; Doc.37,pp.254-255; Doc.38,pp.255-256; Doc.39,p.257; Doc.40,pp.257-259; Doc.41,pp.259-261; Doc.42,pp.262-263; Doc.43,pp.263-265; Doc.44,pp.265-266; Doc.45,p.267; Doc.46,p.268; Doc.47,pp.269-270; Doc.48,pp.270-271; Doc.49,pp.271-272; Doc.50,pp.273-274; Doc.51,pp.274-275; Doc.52,pp.278-279.

of monastic terra near Venafro.[1] These ducal and aristocratic donations made S.Vincenzo one of the largest landowners in Italy.

Chris Wickham has made the important observation that "the 807-836 gifts were of areas which may have had prosperous agriculture based on slave tenants for centuries".[2] Indeed he emphasised the fact that land of the central terra of S.Vincenzo was not marginal but relatively rich. This is borne out by the documentation. For example, in 807 one Romanus granted to S.Vincenzo case, vinee et territoria, ampi, silve, prata, culta vel inculta in the territory of Telese.[3] The specific mention of vineyards and of both cultivated and uncultivated fields and meadows does paint the picture of a relatively prosperous agricultural landscape. Moreover the rents and dues formerly paid for these lands to the aristocratic owner now went to the monastery. As one of the largest landowners in the south the income from monastic land must have been significant at least on par with that accrued by the princes.

In an earlier section which dealt with the monastic

[1] C.Wickham, op.cit., p.234. For the lands which were donated in the vicinity of Venafro, see:Morra,G.'La formazione del patrimonio fondiario Volturnese nel territorio di Venafro' Una Grande abbazzia altomedievale nel Molise. San Vincenzo al Volturno a cura di Faustino Avagliano. Miscellanea Cassinese 51.(Montecassino 1985) pp.233-248.

[2] Wickham,C. op.cit., p.234.

[3] CV I. Doc.39. p.257.

role in ecclesiastical organisation it was established that the monasteries of southern Italy held proprietary rights over a vast number of churches, and that this in turn resulted in another source of income for the mother abbey. As Milis pointed out 'abbeys often considered churches as sources of supplementary income'[1] This factor is well demonstrated in the Chronicon Vulturnense.

Sometime after 881 the monk-priest Sabbatinus in response to the Arab sack of S.Vincenzo drew up a document commemorating the monastery's possessions in Isernia which he managed from the church of S.Angelo. The vast bulk of these possessions had been donated to the monastery sometime between 799 and 814 by an aristocrat called Graffolus. Although Graffolus' actual donation charter concerning the property in Isernia was lost there is an entry in the Chronicon which records his gift as including:

> Vigintiquinque casas de servis, et ecclesiam Sancti Angeli cum pluribus subiectis cappellis, et molendinum in flumine Padulitlu, limitas eciam iuxta civitatem, atque casales, et alias possessiones sibi

[1] L.J.R.Milis, op.cit., p.23.

pertinentes[1]

In the commemoration made by Sabbatinus we find that among the possessions were 'alie ecclesie cum suis reditibus eidem monasterio pertentibus'. There is no reason to doubt that these chapels were the subject chapels of the church of S.Angelo referred to in the original entry relating to Graffolus' gift. S.Vincenzo was thus receiving rents from its proprietary churches.

Monasteries also received gifts when new individuals joined the congregation. This process which involved oblates offering a dowry to their mother house was a long established practice in the history of western monasticism.[2] Significantly some of these monastic dowries could be quite extensive. Sometime between 799 and 814, the same Graffolus who donated land in Isernia as discussed above entered his son Donasdeus in the monastery of S.Vincenzo. At the same time the monastery was also granted Donasdeus' share of his father's goods

[1] CV I p.275. In footnote number 2. Vincenzo Federici expressed some doubts as to the veracity of this entry. He argued, for example, that John the Monk had confused "Graffolus filius quondam Godeperti" with a later "Gaffruli filius Traisi" from Isernia. This latter entry (Chron Vult. Vol II Doc 168) dates to 985. Federici, however, overlooked the commemoration made by the monk-priest Sabbatinus around 881, which indicated that the church of S.Angelus and various chapels and lands within the territory of Isernia were in monastic possession in the ninth century. There is no reason in this case to doubt John the Monk's entry which attribited these possessions to a donation made by "Graffolus filius quondam Godeperti" sometime between 799 and 814.

[2] L.J.R.Milis, op.cit.,p18.

which were dispersed throughotu Apulia.[1]

More spectacularly, in 802 the gastald Stephen together with his two sons Paldo and Tato joined the congregation of S.Vincenzo. In this example he entered the monastery,

> cum omnibus rebus substancie mee, quicquid habere visus sum, casis intus Beneventana civitate et extrinsecus casis, peculia maiori et minori, servos et ancillis, mobile et immobile, casales in partibus Beneventani; et in Apulia; et in Capuanis finibus; et in omnibus locis ubicumque habere visus sum, cum ecclesiis et cum omnibus edificiis ubicumque habere vel visum potuerit, cum coherencia et subiacentia, seu cum diversis limitibus et finibus, cum predictos servos et ancillis , auro et argento, cuncta et omnia funditus optuli in prefato monasterio.[2]

Clearly a great deal of wealth, including territory, moveable and immovable goods and gold and silver , could be acquired by the monasteries through this practice.

There is documentary source material which indicates quite clearly the impressive wealth in moveable goods (including coinage) which could be amassed by a monastery in this period. Of prime importance in this respect are the details of the treasury at Montecassino related by both the author of the Chronica Sancti Benedicti and by Leo of Ostia. Around 844 Prince Siconolf raided the treasury of Montecassino in order to help finance his war efforts in the internecine struggle with Prince Radelchis of Benevento. According to the author of the Chronica Sancti Benedicti Siconolf raided the

[1] CV I Doc. 51. pp.274-275.
[2] CV I Doc. 47. pp.269-270.

treasury in order to raise funds to pay for his Arab mercenaries. Whatever the reason for Siconolf's raid the chronicler listed those items which were removed from the treasury. These were as follows;

> Per idem tempus Siconolfus princeps pro Spanis tribuendum de beatissimi Benedicti coenobio thesaurum abstulit perplurimum. Siquidem vice prima baziam argenteam 1, vaucas par 1, in gemmis et smaragdis spora par 1 saricamque sericam de sifori cum auro et gemmis. In alia igitur vice centum triginta in vasis auro libras. Tertia itaque vice trecenti sexaginta argento libras et tredecim milia solidos auro figuratos. Quarta videlicet vice vatias duos pensantes libras triginta et fundatos duplices septem. Quinta nichilhominus vice matiatos solidos ac praedolatos quattuordecim abstulit milia. Et post hec in agrifis batiam unam et scaptonem 1, Constantinopolitano deaurate fabrofacte vasa opere. Porro insequenti vice sexta per Landonem comitem et Aldemarium gastaldeum vim ex coenobio sustulit isdem Siconolfus praedolati solidos duo milia et sui principis coronam Siconis genitorisque de auro ac gemmis smaragdinis ornatam.[1]

This list allows us an invaluable insight into the contents of a rich monastic treasury, and to a great extent indicates the wealth of the region. Although Siconolf raided the treasury around 844 the bulk of the contents of the treasury must have been amassed in the eighth and early ninth centuries. Many of the items in the treasury were probably gifts from the Lombard princes and the Lombard aristocracy. Apparently Prince Sico (father of Siconolf) gifted a crown encrusted with jewels to Montecassino. The vestments of purple silk and the vases of Constantinopolitan manufacture indicate the wide cultural orbit within which southern monasteries

[1] CSB c.7, p.473.

operated. All of these items were probably gifted to the monastery. However, the specific mention of a vast amount of coinage may reflect wealth generated in the context of monastic leases(see below), rent and sales of produce. In this example alone, the chronicler claims that Siconolf removed 29,000 gold solidi from the treasury. Moreover, the author of the Chronica never claimed that Siconolf emptied the treasury at Montecassino and thus the inventory provided in the Chronica Sancti Benedicti merely details some of Montecassino's moveable wealth.

Although Montecassino was undoubtedly the richest monastery in southern Italy in the eighth and ninth centuries all abbeys owned precious objects. For example, we know that Siconolf also raided the monastery of S.Maria in Salerno while Prince Radelchis helped himself to the treasures of S.Maria in Benevento.[1] Furthermore, the relative wealth of possessions held by all monasteries made them particularly vulnerable to Arab pillaging. In the 840's the Arab leader, Masser who was based in Benevento sacked the monastery of S.Maria in Cingla.[2] S.Modesto in Benevento was sacked and many of the monks were killed in 866, and the monasteries of S.Vincenzo and Montecassino were sacked in 881 and 883 respectively. In short the Arabs were after the wealth that these monasteries had accrued through patronage primarily in the first half of the ninth century.

[1] CS c.81, p.80.
[2] CSB c.7. p.273. Erchempert. c.18. p.241.

In the case of S.Vincenzo most of the charters granting land also included some of the grantors' moveable goods, this may have included items such as those which were to be found in Montecassino's treasury in 844. We may also safely assume that S.Vincenzo also had a sizable store of gold coinage in its treasury.

There is some slight evidence to suggest that the monasteries also obtained money through issuing leases on monastic property for a fixed rent. In general the granting of leases for a specified amount has usually been interpreted as a tenth century phenomenon and one which is intimately bound up with the process of incastellamento. However, the granting of leases does not belong exclusively to the tenth century. In 817, for example, Abbot Apollinaris of Montecassino granted a livello to the men of Termule for payment of 14 solidi.[1] We may assume that the practice of granting leases on monastic property was much more widespread in the eighth and ninth centuries than the paucity of sources would indicate.

This apparent wealth was not the sole preserve of the monasteries. Monastic riches were in fact a mark of the regional prosperity of the Lombard principality of Benevento. There are many indications of the wealth of the

[1] CS c.18 p62; "Iste abbas fecit libellum quibusdam hominibus de Termule de omnibus rebus sancti Benedicti, quas ibi possidebamus, pro censu quattuordecim solidorum et medietate totius pastionis".

region.

Coinage, for example, was in continuous use throughout the eighth and ninth centuries in the Lombard principality of southern Italy. From 700 until the end of the ninth century the mint at Benevento continued to produce two coins; the gold solidus and the gold tremissis. Under Prince Grimoald III(788-806) a silver denarius based on the Frankish coin was also minted from then until the end of the ninth century. Researching the documents in the Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis collection Jean-Marie Martin concluded that the Beneventan solidus was in wide circulation during the ninth century. Indeed, sums of money were most often expressed in solidi and tremissi.[1] We have already seen, for example, that the monastic treasury of Montecassino contained at least 29,000 solidi in 844. The fines imposed under the Lombard laws were also expressed in terms of solidi.

Apart from a widespread and continuous use of coinage within the Lombard regions of south Italy there is also substantial evidence for the existence of trade. Early this century Jules Gay claimed that, at the time of Arichis II, relations between the Greeks and the Lombards were frequent and that this connection explains to some degree the rapid economic growth of the coastal towns of

[1] J-M.Martin,'Economia naturale ed economia monetaria nell'Italia meridionale longobarda e bizantina (secoli VI-XI)', Storia d'Italia. Annali 6: Economia naturale,economia monetaria. (Torino 1983) pp.181-219.

Campania, such as Salerno, Amalfi and Gaeta further north.

While these coastal towns did expand rapidly, merchants traversed all the lands of the south. In the peace treaty which was concluded between Prince Sicard and the Neapolitans in 836, merchants from the latter town were given the liberty to circulate throughout all the territories of the principate and to have undisturbed freedom of commerce.[1] This background may go some way to explaining the appearance of rich objects of an eastern provenance found in the south, such as the silver vase from Constantinople removed from Montecassino's treasury in 844. Prince Arichis also boasted that he received the products of India and Africa. The same prince also gifted to the monastery of S.Sophia at Benevento, purple cloth and woven linen with oriental designs from Asia Minor.[2] Philip Grierson has indicated that there were many different ways in which goods could exchange hands rather than simply as a result of commercial exchange, For example, through ransoms, compensations, fines, dowries, plunder and robbery.[3]

Grierson's observations are of course valid and indeed many of the luxury items listed above may have been acquired through any one of these means.

[1] MGH Edict.Cet. 188-194.
[2] Trans.S.Mercurii. MGH S.r.l. p.577.
[3] P.Grierson,'Commerce in the Dark Ages',Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th Series 9 (1959) p.131.

Nevertheless, it is equally plausible that, since merchants were specifically mentioned in the sources, trade did form a legitimate and significant part of the regional economic framework. Its importance is attested by the fact that it was deemed of sufficient import to have a clause ensuring the protection of traders added to a peace treaty between the Beneventans and the Neapolitans. Merchants were clearly important to both parties.

While Jules Gay's argument in favour of a Byzantine link cannot be dismissed, some scholars have suggested that the true prosperity of the region was based on the development of trading ties with the Islamic Maghreb.[1] A.O.Citarella and H.M.Willard have argued that the Arab regions of North Africa were an outlet for a number of commodities which "the fertile hinterland of Naples and Salerno produced in great abundance", including hemp, linen, cloth, and lumber for shipbuilding. Prior to the peace treaty of 836, Lombard slaves were also sold to African markets.

J.Duplessey has similarly explained the continued and rising circulation of gold in this region as a direct consequence of trade with Islamic markets. Linked with this is the fact that signs of economic recovery are

[1] A.O.Citarella, and H.M.Willard,H.M. The Ninth Century Treasure of Montecassino in the Context of Political and Economic Developments in South Italy. (Montecassino, 1983.) p.64.

detected in southern Italy earlier than elsewhere in Europe. This was an improvement which was particularly marked as early as the reign of king Aistulf(749-756) which certainly preceded Carolingian involvement in southern Italian affairs.

Trade was thus a factor in the economic structures of Lombard southern Italy. In this context two comments made by Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse have a direct relevance. In their book Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe they state that with the available data long distance trade was controlled by kings and monasteries, and that this trade focused in particular on prestige commodities and valuable raw materials. They also stated that "trade was an important source of funds for the ambitious enlargements of churches and monasteries in the early ninth century".[1] These quotes of course refer to Charlemagne and to the wave of church rebuilding and expansion that was definitely executed under royal patronage. However, one can also apply the premiss of this argument to the situation in southern Italy.

It is known that long distance trade was practised in southern Italy. That Neapolitan and presumably Salernitan and Gaetan merchants traversed the principality of Benevento. It is also known that the

[1] R.Hodges, and D.Whitehouse, Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe (London, 1983). p.171.

Lombard princes possessed prestige items of fine quality; the material which Arichis gifted to S.Sophia and the crown which Prince Sico gifted to Montecassino are some of the finest examples. It is clear from the evidence of donation charters that many Lombard families in the late eighth and early ninth century were wealthy by any contemporary standard, possessing courts, lands, vineyards and mills scattered throughout southern Italy. It is also evident that Lombard dukes (and later princes) and the aristocracy heavily patronised all the monasteries of southern Italy but especially S.Vincenzo and Montecassino, expanding their treasuries and making them two of the largest landowners in Italy.

There is also one area of activity which has a direct comparative bearing on the expansion of S.Vincenzo at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. Professor Paolo Delogu has pointed out that the period between c.760 and the first half of the ninth century was an era during which southern Italy witnessed a number of original and dramatic initiatives in the sphere of artistic patronage. In particular there was a vast increase in building and rebuilding programmes throughout southern Italy. In Naples, Duke Stephen II was engaged in architectural patronage culminating in the re-edification of the episcopal church of S.Stephen.[1] The building

[1] Delogu,P. 'Patroni, Donatori, Committenti Nell'Italia Meridionale Longobarda', SSCI 39 (1992) p.306.

activity undertaken by Prince Arichis II was extensive, and is well documented. As Jules Gay pointed out Arichis founded and restored a great number of churches and monasteries, and was also preoccupied with the repair and enlargement of old fortresses.[1] Arichis re-fortified Benevento and created a second residence at Salerno. At both he erected palaces and developed a large court after the Byzantine example.[2] In Benevento he completed the construction of the monastery of S.Sophia which Erchempert described as opulentissimum ac decentissimum, and founded the monastery of S.Salvatore in Alife.[3] Delogu indicated that this activity was paralleled by the laity who founded churches throughout the last decade of the eighth century and the first of the ninth.[4] He also claimed that the much of this activity was based on local economic factors.[5]

The building activity at S.Vincenzo in the late eighth and early ninth centuries was paralleled by similar massive rebuilding programmes throughout southern Italy. Many of these enterprises, such as Arichis' construction of the monastery of S.Sophia, pre-date by a significant number of years any Carolingian involvement

[1] Gay,J. L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin Depuis L'avènement de Basil Ier jusqu'a la prise de Bari par les Normands (876-1071).p.31.

[2] Belting, H. 'Studien Zum Beneventanishen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert' DOP 16 (1962) p.145.

[3] Erchempert. c.3. p.236.

[4] P.Delogu, op.cit.,p.307.

[5] Ibid., p.338.

in southern Italian affairs. It would be apposite, therefore, to see the aggrandisement of S.Vincenzo in this period as part of the regional trend in favour of the construction of opulent new buildings.

A recent article by John Mitchell adds a further dimension to the local context of the S.Vincenzo expansion in this period.[1] In this study John Mitchell presents a persausive argument in favour of the thesis that the Epiphanian crypt was in fact a funerary shrine for the deceased child of a local élite family. In this light the crypt would probably have been commissioned by the deceased child's parents.

At the same time that the crypt was built, the Crypt Church (formerly called S.Laurenzo) itself was extensively redeveloped.[2] What had been a private church for the use of monks was entirely remodelled to allow it to receive guests. This included the addition of 3 apses at the west end of the church; the eastern end was redeveloped and a sunken atrium graveyard was located in the late Roman narthex. In the graveyard were six block built tombs positioned to attract the attention of visitors to the church who would have had to enter

[1] J.Mitchell, 'The Crypt Reappraised' San Vincenzo al Volturno 1 Edited by Richard Hodges (The British School at Rome London 1993) pp.75-114.

[2] R.Hodges,J.Mitchell, with contributions by S.Gibson. 'The Crypt Church', San Vincenzo al Volturno 1 Edited by Richard Hodges (The British School at Rome/London 1993) pp.40-74.

through the eastern door.

In relation to these burials Richard Hodges has commented that "to judge from contemporary references as well as similar burials in the narthex of churches in Rome, these were the burials of the local élite or of members of the monastic hierarchy".[1] In the case one of these graves, however, we can be almost certain that it was a member of the local elite since it contained the remains of a single female.[2] Undoubtedly she belonged to the local aristocracy and, considering the prominent siting of her grave, she probably belonged to one of the most powerful families and one which patronised S.Vincenzo. Also, again considering the position of her tomb, it is highly likely that her family contributed towards the reconstruction of the crypt church if they did not indeed commission the entire building.

These observations are fundamental to a wider understanding of the context of the expansion at S.Vincenzo. For example, there is strong evidence to suggest that some of the most opulent and impressive reconstruction work undertaken at S.Vincenzo was the result not simply of wealthy monastic resources but that

[1] Ibid., p.72.

[2] V.Higgins,'A preliminary analysis of some of the early medieval human skeletons from San Vincenzo al Volturno', San Vincenzo al Volturno. The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery. Edited by Richard Hodges and John Mitchell. (Oxford,1985) pp.111-124.

they may have been commissioned and paid for by the local Lombard secular elite. Such a conclusion directly questions the hypothesis developed by Richard Hodges and John Moreland.

They felt that "the new monastery must ...must have been a forceful reminder of the Carolingian presence in the area", and that the "target of 'symbolism'(including architecture and art work) was the Beneventan princes".[1] On the contrary the commissioning of building enterprises at S.Vincenzo was a means of cultural expression employed by the abbots to increase the prestige of their monastery, and by the secular elite as a means of enhancing their own image in society. S.Vincenzo was not a symbol of Carolingian ideology and domination, rather it was an opulent expression of Southern Italian monasticism and Lombard secular patronage. In this context both Richard Hodges and John Mitchell have missed the point. The contradictions and ambivalences in their arguments serve only to weaken their hypothesis. It is quite clear that the vast wealth of S.Vincenzo, which was expressed in particular through the architecture and its associated decoration, owed more to a strong local input than to the Carolingians.

[1] R.Hodges,J. Moreland, and H.Patterson, op.cit., p.279.

B. Art and Acculturation

Those scholars who claim that a Carolingian connection at S.Vincenzo was the impetus for the expansion of the monastery, also argue that the art and architecture of the abbey betrays a northern (Carolingian) ideology and influence. They believe that some of these artistic elements are expressed so clearly in the monastery that they have referred to the abbey as a "Carolingian Renaissance complex".[1]

This Carolingian ideology and influence was expressed in two ways: firstly the use of late Antique models, both in architecture and in the visual arts at the abbey fits well with the Carolingian 'renovatio' and its concomitant allusions to the Roman Empire. Indeed, Richard Hodges felt that 'the late antique theme, in particular, was prevalent throughout the monastery' and that consequently S.Vincenzo was 'a classic expression of the Carolingian movement'.[2] Secondly, a number of northern features and practices identified in the visual arts at S.Vincenzo have been explained in terms of 'the Carolingian presence in southern Italy, and in the interest that Charlemagne and his successors took in the abbey'.[3] The whole scheme of the visual arts at the abbey were interpreted within a Frankish context; as John Mitchell pointed out; "the prodigal display of painted

1 Ibid., p.266.
2 R.Hodges, 'Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno....' pp.28-29.
3 J.Mitchell, 'The Painted Decoration....' p.165.

imagery and decoration at S.Vincenzo in the late eighth and ninth centuries has to be understood in the context of the rapidly increasing production and exploitation of visual imagery in the Carolingian empire during this period".[1]

Counter to these arguments, however, it will be demonstrated in the following section that the use of antique models, as exhibited in S.Vincenzo, was a well established practice in southern Italy prior to Carolingian involvement in southern Italian affairs, and thus owed little to the 'renovatio' advocated under Charlemagne. Secondly, it will be shown that northern Italian artistic influences were only one element of artistic expression and inspiration among many, which included south Italian regional, antique and Byzantine models. However, the emphasis given to northern influences has created an imbalance in the analyses of the nature and significance of artistic influence at S.Vincenzo.

These works which have emphasised the Carolingian connection have also ignored the nature of acculturation has been defined as consisting of three basic steps: initial encounter between cultures, interaction, and finally the resultant rejection 'fragmentation', or assimilation of certain cultural elements on the part of

[1] J.Mitchell, 'Literacy displayed....' p.220.

one or both societies.[1] In other words the art displayed at S.Vincenzo was not a slavish acceptance of northern models but the result of a selective process on the part of those who commissioned works of art and by the artists themselves: abbots, lay patrons and those involved in each area of artistic creation in the monastery. They used a variety of artistic models to create a variety of visual images which reflected their own southern Italian distinctive identity.

It is entirely misleading to conceive of southern Italian artistic expression in submissive terms with respect to the larger cultural powers on their borders: the Carolingians to the north and the Byzantines to the East. Indeed, the integrity of the southern Italian cultural world is reflected most dramatically in two areas of artistic activity. Firstly, by the creation of cultural modes of expression such as the Beneventan Script which influenced other cultures, particularly the Carolingians, and secondly through the creation of particular forms of expression such as Exultet Rolls which have no precedent and are found only within the south Italian regional context. A discussion of cultural modes of expression which were unique to southern Italy, and of those which influenced other cultures will form the last part of this section. Firstly, however, the

[1] D.J.Geanakoplos, Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600). (London 1976).p.3.

discussion will focus on the use of antique models in the monastery.

It is well known that the overall cultural ethos of the Carolingian Empire was imbued with allusions to two powerful models: the Old Testament and the Roman Empire.[1] It was the use of antique designs at S.Vincenzo which allowed Richard Hodges to refer to the monastery as 'a classic expression of the Carolingian movement'.[2] There were indeed a number of examples in the art and architecture of the monastery which appeared to be conscious borrowings from antique models.

Excavations at the apsidal end (west) of the 'South Church' has indicated that in the late eighth century (phases 3b and 3c of the excavations) a primitive ambulatory was added beyond the apse. Later in the same century the ambulatory was extensively remodelled on a much grander scale and it has been postulated that this was a result of the increased emphasis being placed on the veneration of the relics which were presumably held in the altar of the 'South Church'.[3] At least a quarter of a century later, during the abbacy of Epiphanius (824-842) a tricorn shaped apse was constructed at the west

1 H.Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire (Oxford, 1957) R.Hodges, J.Moreland, and H.Patterson, op.cit., p.277.

2 Hodges,R."Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno....' p.29.

3 R.Hodges, S.J.Mithen,. with contributions by S.Gibson and J.Mitchell. 'The 'South Church': A Late Roman funerary Church (San Vincenzo Minore) and the Hall for Distinguished Guests', San Vincenzo al Volturno 1 Edited by Richard Hodges (The British School at Rome London 1993) p.128.

end of the Crypt Church to imitate the plan of the crypt below.[1] These features, the ambulatory and the tricorn apse, were late antique architectural ideas revived at the end of the eighth century.[2]

Along the south corridor of the early ninth century phase of the 'South church' and in a room located between the corridor and the lower thoroughfare was a dado almost 1m high. The dado was painted to imitate panels of coloured marbles, with what appeared to be a schematic representation of metal clamps. Although imitation of paint in veined marble was not a common practice in the early middle ages, there were striking similarities between the marbled effect on the dado at S.Vincenzo and the dados on the walls of the monastery church of S.John at Müstair, to the far north of Bolzano, which has been dated to c.800.[3] The designs on these dados also imitated the magnificent marble revetments found in late antique churches.

Other examples of the revival of late antique designs have been identified in the assembly room next to the refectory. Benches which ran along the inside of this room were painted with two different geometric designs; one consisted of a series of triangles, the

1 R.Hodges, J.Mitchell,J. with contributions by S.Gibson 'The Crypt Church', p.72.

2 R.Hodges,"Excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno....' p.27. See also; Krautheimer,R. 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', Art Bulletin 24 (1942) pp.1-38.

3 J.Mitchell,'The Painted Decoration....' p.132.

other imitated overlapping parti-coloured semi-circular tiles. The use of overlapping tiles was a common practice in both floor and wall decoration in antiquity. However there was only one other example of the use of this motif in the medieval period: a fragment of the painted dado in the crypt at the west end of the first abbey church at Farfa of c.830. It may be the case that the artists in both S.Vincenzo and Farfa may have been consciously reviving an antique formula.[1]

The existence of antique designs in the scheme of the art and architecture at S.Vincenzo has consistently been interpreted within the context of the Carolingian 'renovatio'. For example Richard Hodges and John Moreland claimed that "at San Vincenzo, late Antique symbols and designs, along with early Roman capitals and inscriptions, were used to create an image in keeping with the new "world view" espoused by the Carolingians.[2] However, these conclusion are a little exaggerated. The use of antique models in both art and architecture for example was an established practice in the Lombard duchy of Benevento in the eighth century and pre-dated Carolingian involvement in south Italian affairs.

One example of a pre-Carolingian use of antique models in southern Italy and in the monastery of S.Vincenzo in particular is to be found in the Codex

[1] Ibid.,p.144.
[2] R.Hodges, J.Moreland, and H.Patterson, op.cit.,p.277. R.Hodges, 'Excavations at Vaccherecia....'p.150.

Beneventanus.[1] This is a Gospel Book written in eighth century uncial with additions and corrections in tenth century Beneventan script. It has decorated initials at the beginning of each gospel and a set of Canon Tables at the front of the book.[2] The colophon at the end of the book begins praecepto pii patris atoni obtemperans exiguus monachus lupus beati hieronimi labore translatum evangelorium scribsi librum.[3] On account of the palaeographical evidence which assigns the Codex to the eighth century and the mention of an Atto in the colophon at the end of the book, it is now generally accepted that the Gospel Book was written at S.Vincenzo during the abbacy of Atto (736-760).

However, the decoration of the Canon Tables at the front of the book and the writing of the Gospels by the scribe Lupus were separate undertakings. Indeed the Canon Tables were written some time after they had been decorated.[4] For example, the pigments, techniques used, and overall scheme of illumination of the Canon Tables in the Codex Beneventanus are close in style to the sixth century Vatican Canon Tables (Vat.Lat.3806). It is now

1 See:Loew, E.A. The Beneventan Script. 2 Volumes. Second editon prepared and enlarged by V.Brown (Rome, 1980).Wright, D.H. 'The Canon Tables of the Codex Beneventanus And Related Decoration', Dumbarton Oaks Papers 33 (1979) pp 137-155.Bassi,S. Monumenta Italiae graphica. La scrittura greca in Italia. (Cremona, 1956).

2 Loew,E.A.op.cit., Vol II p.51. The Codex Beneventanus is held in the British Library: Add.MS.5463.

3 D.H.Wright, op.cit., p.137.

4 Ibid., p.138.

widely accepted that the Canon Tables of the Codex Beneventanus were late antique originals illuminated before A.D.600. With the Codex Beneventanus, therefore, we have a remarkable example of the use of antique models in the scriptorium of S.Vincenzo during the second quarter of the eighth century.

A second example of the use of antique models in southern Italy in the eighth century was the practice of setting monumental inscriptions on the facades of buildings. Such inscriptions are known to have existed on the facades of a number of buildings at S.Vincenzo. The most famous of these inscriptions was that erected by Abbot Iosue (792-817) on the facade of the new abbey church at the monastery. Letters which now survive in the floor of the present abbey church fit perfectly into the text of the inscription which John the Monk recorded as having been set up in gold letters above Iosue's new church. The full inscription would have been about 14.5m in length and read, Quaeque vides ospes pendencia celsa vel ima vir Domini Iosue struxit cum fratribus una.[1]

Inscriptions in large metal letters of this nature were employed rarely in the middle ages. However, the artistic inspiration behind the inscriptions at S.Vincenzo appears to have been similar gilded letters which adorned the facade of Arichis II's palace-chapel at Salerno. The cultural context of the use of gilded metal

[1] CV I p.221.

inscriptions on buildings at S.Vincenzo was therefore that of Lombard southern Italy.[1]

It is clear from these two examples that antique models were used in the Lombard duchy of Benevento, both in the monastic and secular fields, prior to the arrival of the Carolingians. The use of late antique designs was clearly part of the southern Lombard artistic tradition in the eighth century. It would be more appropriate therefore to explain the use of antique designs at S.Vincenzo in the late eighth and early ninth centuries as part of this regional tradition rather than as an adoption of an imported Carolingian artistic ideology.

The influence of the Carolingians has also been seen in the use of north Italian styles and techniques in the painted decoration of the abbey during the first half of the ninth century. However, northern influences were only one of many sources of artistic inspiration which were employed in the monastery. Once again an over-emphasis on these northern aspects creates an imbalance in the overall picture of the art work at S.Vincenzo which included local and Byzantine models as well as those which can be traced to Rome or northern Italy. The origins of the various designs in use at S.Vincenzo are best studied in two major contexts: the paintings within the Epiphanian crypt, and the almost life size prophets

[1] J.Mitchell,'Literacy displayed....' p.210 and p.225. See also,Delogu,P. 'Patroni, Donatori, Committenti Nell'Italia Meridionale Longobarda', SSCI 39 (Spoleto 1992)

and apostles which were painted on the walls of the assembly room leading into the refectory.

The sequence of paintings within the Epiphanian crypt at S.Vincenzo are the best documented frescoes from the site of the medieval monastery.[1] The crypt itself and its decoration stem from a variety of cultural and artistic sources - the nature and the scheme of the crypt paintings has given rise to three major hypotheses. Hans Belting, for example, has argued that the scheme of painting was derived from two cultural sources, one Byzantine, and the other derived from the teachings of Autpert the eighth century Frankish abbot of S.Vincenzo.[2] Belting's conclusions were modified by Fernanda de Maffei who saw the entire scheme was one which was heavily steeped in the theology of Autpert.[3] More recently John Mitchell has asserted that the whole structure was conceived as a funerary oratory, and that the inspiration for its construction was Papal mausolea in Rome.[4]

These various interpretations clearly demonstrate that the programme of painting in the crypt is complex.

[1] J.Mitchell, 'The Crypt Reappraised' (BSR, 1993). A.Pantoni, Le chiese e gli edifici del monastero di San Vincenzo al Volturno. (Montecassino, 1980). F.De.Maffei, 'Le arti a San Vincenzo al Volturno il ciclo della cripta di Epifanio' Una Grande abbazzia altomedievale nel Molise. San Vincenzo al Volturno a cura di Faustino Avagliano (Montecasssino, 1985) pp.269-352.

[2] H.Belting, Studien zur Beneventanischen Malerei (Wiesbaden, 1968).

[3] F.De Maffei, op.cit.

[4] J.Mitchell, 'The Crypt Reappraised' (BSR, 1993)

However, and more significantly, by their very diversity they illustrate the fact that it is incongruous to explain the paintings at S.Vincenzo in terms of one source of cultural inspiration, or as either a Frankish, Roman or Byzantine inspired art. Southern Lombard art did absorb a variety of artistic motifs and indeed the eclecticism of the artists employed at S.Vincenzo can be demonstrated in a number of fields.

There is also a technical feature in the execution of two of the figurative paintings in the crypt which, for example, indicates a northern influence. The representation of Abbot Epiphanius and the deacon at the feet of the Virgin Mary share this feature which distinguishes them from the other figures in the Crypt cycle. Their heads have been painted on their own skim of plaster, which has been described as a 'giornata'.[1] The practice of adding the head of a portrait on to its own skim of plaster is found in only two other known instances in early medieval Italy. One is in the chapel of S.Quiricus and S.Julitta in S.Maria Antiqua, in Rome and the other example is in the tower at Torba, on the river Olona under Castelsperio, to the north of Milan. Both of these examples pre-date the paintings at S.Vincenzo.

Although the method employed in painting these two heads indicates a technical importation from the north

[1] Ibid., p.105.

there are a number of elements in the portrayal of the figures in the Crypt which are indeed Byzantine in tone. For example, the Archangels and the Virgin Mary are portrayed wearing Byzantine Regalia. The image of Christ in the vault at the centre of the Crypt is redolent of the images of Christ Pantocrator found in Byzantine churches. The iconography of the Nativity scene is clearly Eastern Christian in origin, and the personification of Jerusalem is part of Byzantine tradition. It is to Byzantium that we must turn for the real source of inspiration of the paintings in the Crypt at S.Vincenzo

We find a similar mixture of local and external influences at work in the execution of the figures of the Apostles and Prophets which lined the walls of the assembly room next to the refectory. The walls in this room carried a sequence of nearly life sized Prophets each of whom held a large scroll inscribed with a text in red and black capital letters. From the other fragments which have been excavated from this room it would appear that facing the Prophets were a similar series of portrayals of the Apostles on the opposite wall. So far parts of seven heads have been assembled, along with drapery and hands. One of the inscriptions has been reconstructed and was found to be inscribed with a text from the Old Testament Book of Micah.[1]

[1] Micah, c.4.verse 6.

As indicated above these figures show signs of local, northern and Byzantine influences. There are, for example, two regional characteristics in the execution of the figures in the assembly room. One of these was the particular system of highlighting and shading found on the brows and noses of the figures. A similar style of rendering faces is also found in the Church of S.Maria dell'Annunziata at Prata in Campania and dates from the early ninth century. Secondly the three-banded clavus on the tunic of one of the Prophets belongs to a south Italian tradition. These were features characteristic of ninth and tenth century painting in Campania.[1]

Northern influences are also found in the paintings of the Prophets at S.Vincenzo. The most conspicuous comparisons are with paintings in S.Salvatore in Brescia and those in the church of S.John at Müstair, dating from around 800. In the saints' heads in S.Salvatore in Brescia one can see similar techniques employed in highlighting and shading as at S.Vincenzo.

A Byzantine influence can also be seen in the painted inscriptions which accompanied the figures on the walls. It has been established for example that figures holding open scrolls with legible inscriptions were not commonly found in the medieval west before the eleventh century. The use of such a motif at S.Vincenzo al Volturno suggests that the artist responsible was fully

[1] J.Mitchell,'The Painted Decoration....' p.150.

acquainted with Byzantine imagery.

It is clear, therefore, that the most elaborate imagery and figurative work developed at S.Vincenzo in the late eighth century and during the first half of the ninth century used motifs from a variety of cultural sources, including those which had been developed in its own regional context. Furthermore, these borrowings from other cultures cannot be interpreted as slavish acceptance of artistic motifs 'imposed' by a dominant culture group. On the contrary, selective borrowing and interaction is a necessary artistic process in any culture. In this area similarities among the motifs employed in artistic expression are to be expected and are not a denial of the regional ethnie's cultural integrity..[1]

It has been demonstrated by social anthropologists that a vibrant artistic culture cannot exist in isolation but is constantly invigorated through external artistic contacts.[2] It is precisely that process we see in action in ninth century S.Vincenzo. Paradoxically the very contacts which heightened southern Lombard ethnic identity, (that is contact with the Franks and Byzantines), also helped to give southern Lombard monastic art a rich vitality. The use of artistic models and motifs whose provenance lay outside the Lombard

1 J.Lukas,'On the Commensurability of Cultural Systems' p.9.

2 A.D.Smith, National Identity. (London, 1991).pp.35-36

principalities of southern Italy was the result of selective borrowing on the part of the monastic patrons and artists. However, this art, was interpreted in a Lombard context. It was Lombards above all who patronised the southern monasteries, and as patrons they would have a role in deciding the content and nature of the work produced.[1] By far the most important patrons were the Lombard princes of Benevento and later of Capua, and thus they could harness the rich art and prestige of the monasteries as a cultural bolster to ethnic identity.

The way in which external 'artistic' motifs could be harnessed by the Lombards in an attempt to enhance their own identity can be demonstrated by studying the development of Beneventan coinage through the years, up to the end of the ninth century.

At first Lombard coinage imitated Byzantine coins, in particular the solidi minted during Justinian II's first reign (685-695). The Lombards were probably inspired by the coinage produced at Naples in the mint which was established there by Constans II. The Byzantine coins were taken over almost unchanged by the Lombards. The only addition was the mention of the reigning duke of Benevento on the reverse of the coin, Gisolf II (689-706)

[1] P.Delogu, 'Patroni, Donatori....' SSCI 34 (1992) pp.303-39.

for example, inscribed his initials on the reverse.[1]

In 758, the first year of Arichis II's reign, the new duke removed the name of the emperor and added the uncontentious legend, DNS VICTORIA. After 774 Arichis added the new legend VTIRV PRINPI (Virtus Principis). Arichis' son Grimoald III went further and identified himself with the image of the crowned monarch and added his own name as a legend. When the southern Lombards also adopted the Frankish silver denarius Grimoald removed Charlemagne's monogram and replaced it with his own. Significantly and uniquely the name of BENEVENT was added to the reverse of the coin; this was a peculiarly Lombard innovation. With the development of the coinage one can clearly see the way in which the Lombards borrowed external motifs and then used them as a powerful expression and symbol of their own independence and ethnic identity.

Southern Lombard artistic and cultural expression also had a dramatic influence on other cultures. Indeed there are two examples of a flow of artistic influence form the south to the north.

We have already discussed the presence of gilded copper inscriptions on the facades of buildings in the

[1] H.Belting, H. 'Studien Zum Beneventanishen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert' Dumbarton Oaks Papers. 16 (1962) P.150. See also: Martin,J-M. 'Economia naturale ed economia monetaria nell'Italia meridionale longobarda e bizantina (secoli VI-XI)', Storia d'Italia. Annali 6: Economia naturale,economia monetaria. (Torino 1983) pp.185-188.

Lombard duchy of Benevento in the eighth and ninth centuries: those on the gables of Arichis II's palace chapel at Salerno and Abbot Iosue's new abbey church at S.Vincenzo respectively. There was only one other example of setting up gilded copper inscriptions on the facades of buildings: that on the facade of the Westwork at Corvey a Carolingian work constructed sometime between 873 and 885. There is a high probability that in this case we are dealing with an example of artistic influences spreading northwards from the southern Lombard principalities.

However, we are on sure ground when dealing with the spread of the Beneventan Script. This script was developed in the eighth century in the region of southern Italy which was roughly equivalent to the area of the Lombard duchy of Benevento. It was in use as a standard hand well into the fourteenth century. Although very much a product of the Lombard area of southern Italy the hand was also used on the Tremiti Islands in the Adriatic and all along the coast of Dalmatia, including Ossero, Ragusa, Spalato, Traii and Zara.[1]

Significantly various stylistic elements which are regarded as uniquely Beneventan have also been noted in various Carolingian manuscripts, thereby indicating a south Italian influence in northern scriptoriam. In an

[1] E.A.Loew, The Beneventan Script. 2 Volumes. Second editon prepared and enlarged by V.Brown (Rome, 1980). Volume I p.61.

unpublished PhD Thesis presented at Saint Louis University in 1981, Joan Carr examined 53 Carolingian texts which showed definite Beneventan features: four of these were reliably dated to the ninth century.[1] The author concluded that the influence of south Italian manuscripts on Carolingian texts was extensive.[2]

South Italian monastic cultural expression, therefore, had an artistic integrity. It absorbed various influences selectively, and produced a visual expression which was both eclectic and specifically southern Italian. At the same time south Italian culture consisted of elements which were local in inspiration such as the early and sustained use of antique models, or the creation and development of the Beneventan Script. This monastic cultural expansion cannot be seen in isolation from secular artistic enterprises such as those undertaken by the dukes and princes of Benevento. In a very real sense the cultural and architectural expansion at the end of the eighth century had its origins and 'raison d'etre' in its southern Lombard regional context.

[1] Carr,J.E.O. Some Carolingian Manuscripts Displaying Beneventan Influence, PhD Thesis (Saint Loius University 1981). The four manuscruipts which were dated to the ninth century were as follows;
1-Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 168. An early ninth century copy of S.Ambros' Expositio Super Lucam.
2-Vaticanus Latinus 553. Early ninth century manuscript containing works of S.Eucherius.
3-Vaticanus Latinus 5951. A ninth century Carolingian copy of Celsus' De Medicina.
4-Archivio di S.Pietro C137 ninth century (possibly tenth century) manuscript. Contains expositions by various authors on the apocalypse.

[2] Ibid., pp.214-215.

C. Monasticism and Lombard Ethnicity

The Lombards of southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries clearly had a strong sense of ethnic identity. This identity was expressed in a number of ways; the assumption of the royal title by Arichis II in 774; through warfare with foreign powers including the Franks and Byzantium. Lombard ethnic identity was most dramatically expressed and articulated, however, in the context of southern Latin monasticism. We have already seen how the ecclesiastical and monastic structures of southern Italy had developed in isolation from Rome. For example the role that monasticism performed in ecclesiastical organisation, its relations with the papacy and its response to the northern tenth century monastic reform movement revealed that Latin monasticism in the Lombard principalities developed according to its own principles. This monastic integrity added to the development of a specific southern monastic identity which was seen in terms of and as part of the Lombard ethnie.

Lombard ethnic identity was expressed through monasticism in three specific areas: the writing of 'ethnic' history; the inclusion and role of monks in Lombard law; and the various explicit declarations of self definition and group identity found in monastic documentary sources.

Much of our knowledge about southern Italy in the

ninth and tenth centuries comes from two contemporary histories of the Lombards which were written by south Italian monks. These are Erchempert's Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum and the Chronicon Salernitanum. Erchempert who was prior of a Cassinese cell in Capua wrote his history c.899. His name clearly indicates that he was a Lombard, and indeed his father was Adelgarius, a noble Lombard of Teano.[1] A very strong sense of Lombard pride and ethnic identity is evident in Erchempert's Historia; although Erchempert was a Cassinese monk his writing indicates his fierce pride in being a Lombard.[2] His Historia covers the period from 774 to c.899 and although concentrating entirely on the Lombards of southern Italy was a continuation of Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum.

The Chronicon Salernitanum was written in Salerno in the last quarter of the tenth century and covers the period 774-974. It has long been known that the author of the Chronicon was a monk possibly of S.Benedict in Salerno.[3] The author of the Chronicon used both the histories of Paul the Deacon and Erchempert as models for his work. Although primarily concerned with the history of Salerno, the Chronicon Salernitanum was a history of the Lombards of Salerno, and in this sense can be

[1] CC c.47, p.124.
[2] Micucci,M. 'La Vita Di Benevento Nella Visione Di Erchemperto', ASPN 74 (1956) p.9.
[3] Taviani-Carozzi,H La Principauté Lombarde De Salerne IXe-XIe Siècle. (Rome 1991). Vol.I. pp.90-91.

accepted as an 'ethnic' history.

Why did these monks write their respective histories? The authors themselves allow us no explicit insight into their reasons for writing. Erchempert does indicate, however, that it was his intention to write not about the rule and good fortune of his gens but of its collapse and misery:

> non regimen eorum set excidium, non felicitatem set miseriam, non triumphum set perniciem, non quemamodum profecerint set qualiter defecerint.[1]

Although this statement reflects the undercurrent of pessimism which pervades Erchempert's Historia, it does not explain why the author should have wished to write an 'ethnic' history. The reasons are twofold; firstly they were simply continuing the long tradition of southern Lombard historiography which had been established by Paul the Deacon in the eighth century, and secondly they were responding to their own sense of Lombard ethnic identity.

Paul composed his history at Montecassino after the fall of Pavia in 774. It is possible that he was writing the history about 790 the approximate date of this death. Paul had been a monk at Montecassino since 763 and had developed strong ties with the Beneventan ducal house under Arichis II. Paul's earliest poems which have been dated to 763, for example, were dedicated to Adelperga the duchess of Benevento and daughter of King Desiderius. Although the Historia was intended to edify the young

[1] Erchempert. c.1, p.235.

Prince Grimoald III of Benevento its popularity was widespread throughout the Middle Ages.[1]

It is certainly evident that both Erchempert and the author of the Chronicon Salernitanum looked to Paul's Historia as a model for their own works since both writers referred to, and quoted from the Historia. The full significance of this influence only becomes apparent when one considers the nature of Paul's Historia. Donald Bullough has amply demonstrated the powerful ethnic dimension of Paul's Historia concluding that "Paul...had written 'ethnic history' in two senses: the history of a gens seen in terms of its own unhappy present and past of those who had deprived it of independence; and an historical narrative which gave to native oral tradition the authority of reliable testimony, comparable and even superior to other kinds of evidence".[2] Erchempert and the author of the Chronicon were therefore following the example of a Lombard ethnic history which not only influenced the way in which they wrote about the past but also influenced their consciousness of their own Lombard

[1] Goffart,W. The Narrators of Barbarian History. (Princeton University press 1988). Cilento,N.'La storiografia nell'eta barbarica fonti occidentali sui barbari in Italia' Magistra Barbaritas: I Barbari in Italia. (Milan 1984) p.344. Cilento has referred to a 'school of history' at Cassino' initiated at the end of the eighth century by Paul the Deacon.

[2] Bullough,D: "Ethnic History and the Carolingians: An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum" in The Inheritance of Historiography 350-900. Edited by Christopher Holdsworth and T.P.Wiseman. (Exeter, 1986). p.100.

ethnic identity.

The significance these two histories lies in the fact that they expressed and articulated contemporary attitudes and reinforced Lombard ethnic identity for future generations. The very act of writing a history of a gens was a clear expression of the cultural and ethnic integrity of that gens in the eyes of the author and his audience. Ethnicity was also expressed and strengthened in other ways.

Paul the Deacon, Erchempert and the author of the Chronicon Salernitanum all refer to the common origins of the Lombard people. Much of the material they used was based on the Origo gentis Langobardorum an anonymous narrative of the seventh century. This work traced the origins of the Lombards from their mythical home in Scandinavia through a period of settlement in Pannonia and finally to their entry into Italy. The myth of the origin of the Lombards as narrated in the Origo was a fundamental expression of Lombard ethnicity.[1] It was a tradition which was kept alive as long as the concept of the Lombard gens existed. It is significant, therefore that it was this myth which was retold by Paul, Erchempert and the author of the Chronicon. Its importance also lies in the fact, that myths of the common origin of a people serve to increase or express

[1] D.Harrison, 'Dark age Migrations and Subjective Ethnicity: The Example of the Lombards', Scandia p.25.

its sense of solidarity.[1] These three southern Lombard monks, therefore, made an immense contribution to the maintenance of Lombard ethnic solidarity and integrity.

Lombard ethnic identity is also evident in the way these authors refer to foreigners in their respective narratives. All three histories display resentment towards outsiders. Paul the Deacon, for example was openly hostile to the Greeks, and although not overtly antagonistic towards the Franks they only appear in his Historia as enemies of the Lombards.[2]

The Chronicon Salernitanum is rather more restrained in its treatment of foreigners while Erchempert was openly hostile to all non-Lombards. He was sarcastic in his treatment of Guy of Spoleto whom he harangued for having capitalised on the southern Lombard internecine wars between Radelchis II and Siconolf of Salerno. He likened the Greeks to beasts; Achivi autem, ut habitudinis similes sunt, ita animo aequales sunt bestiis, vocabulo christiani, set moribus tristiores Agarenis .[3] He had a vehement dislike of the Franks and only gave Louis II grudging respect for his role in defeating the Sawdan of Bari.[4] These attitudes were in marked contrast to his description of the Lombards, particularly the early princes of Benevento. He described

1 S.Reynolds, 'Medieval Origines Gentium and the Community of the Realm' History 68 (1983) p.375.
2 D.Bullough, op.cit.
3 Erchempert, c.81 p.264.
4 H.Taviani-Carozzi, op.cit., p.58.

Arichis II as vir christianissimus et valde illustris atque in rebus bellicis strenuissimus[1] while he referred to his son Grimoald, as vir quoque sat mitis et adeo suavis.[2]

Even if Erchempert's Historia contained an element of conscious or unconscious, individual or group vitriol and 'propaganda', it must have been intended to appeal to values and emotions current at the time and in this sense Erchempert's views are significant in relation to Lombard identity at the end of the ninth century.[3] Erchempert wrote his Historia in the 890's, the very decade when the the Lombards of southern Italy were under threat from the renascent Byzantine power in the south. In 891, after a three month siege, Benevento fell to Byzantine forces under the command of Symbaticus. The Byzantines occupied the town until 894 when they were ousted by a coalition force led by Guy of Spoleto. In writing his Historia therefore, Erchempert may have been serving a widely felt need in Lombard society to reaffirm and strengthen their

[1] Erchempert. c.2, p.235.
[2] Ibid., c.7, p.237.
[3] T.S.Brown,'Ethnic Independence and Cultural Deference. The Attitude of the Lombard Principalities to Byzantium c876-1077', Byzantium and its Neighbours from the mid-9th till the 12th centuries. Papers read at the Byzantinological Symposium Bechyne 1990. (Prague 1993) pp.5-12. Tom Brown has suggested, however, that the hostility to foreigners which is found in Lombard sources can be exaggerated. He has also indicated that Erchempert was "a particularly colourful and paranoid historian desperate to find scapegoats for the political and military disasters which had overtaken his beloved race".

ethnic identity.[1]

This ethnic dimension was the most significant function of the Erchempert's Historia Langobardorum and the Chronicon Salernitanum Both authors, for example, articulated the codes, symbols, and myths of the Lombard gens, and set down in writing the historical memories of common past experiences shared by the Lombards of southern Italy. In this way these authors gave the southern lombard history of the ninth and tenth centuries a coherence and reality which was a major factor in the maintenance and strengthening of ethnic group identity. Through their histories these authors not only shared a Lombard ethnic identity they also helped to further define the Lombard ethnie.[2]

During a recent conference on History and Ethnicity one of the central themes discussed was how ethnic groups used history in the process of self-definition.[3] It was evident for example that there was a close link between history, ethnicity, historiography and historicity. It was clear that how history was used, experienced, remembered or created was a crucial factor

[1] S.Reynolds, op.cit., p.378.
[2] A.D.Smith, 'Chosen peoples: why ethnic groups survive', Ethnic and Racial Studies 15 (1992) p.438.
[3] History and Ethnicity. Edited by Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald and Malcolm Chapman. (London and new York, 1989).

in the creation of an ethnic identity.[1] The histories of Paul the Deacon, Erchempert and the author of the Chronicon Salernitanum were clearly of major significance in the development of Lombard ethnic identity. Although there were many other factors associated with the creation of Lombard ethnic identity the role of these histories cannot be over estimated. They were ethnic histories to such an extent that Nicola Cilento accurately referred these historians as "autori di nazione logobarda".[2]

Laws also formed a significant element in the creation of an ethnic identity.[3] The Lombards of Italy had their own written law codes from an early date. The first collection of Lombard law codes was Rothari's Edictum of 643 which contained 388 titles.[4] This original collection was augmented throughout the following century: Grimoald (662-671), 9 titles; Liutprand (712-744), 153 titles; Ratchis (744-9, 756-757), 14 titles; and Aistulf (749-756), 9 titles. As Katherine Drew pointed out the later lawgivers (after Rothari) were primarily concerned with filling the gaps

[1] M.Chapman, M.McDonald, and Tonkin,E. 'Introduction-History and Social Anthropology', History and Ethnicity Ed. by. E.Tonkin, M.Mcdonald, and M.Chapman. ASA Monographs 27. (London and New York 1989) pp.1-21.

[2] N.Cilento, op.cit., p.344.

[3] P.R.Brass, Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison (London 1991). pp.22-23. A.D.Smith, National Identity. (London, 1991). p.16.

[4] K.F.Drew, The Lombard Laws. (University of Pennsylvannia Press, 1973).

left by the earlier codification.

The codification of Lombard laws was significant for the maintenance of group identity. For example, those who were born Lombards professed Lombard law and thus identified themselves as belonging to the Lombard gens.[1] The promulgation of the laws was also a royal prerogative. It is of no little significance, therefore, to find that further titles were added to the Lombard law codes by Prince Arichis II of Benevento in 774 and by Prince Adelchis in 866. This action indicated clearly that the princes of Benevento regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of Desiderius, following the latter's defeat in 774. These further edicts formed a supplement to the Lombard laws which were followed in the principality of Benevento, and they had a specific ethnic dimension.[2]

Apart from helping define an individuals ethnic group consciousness by having them fall under either Lombard or Roman law according to their birth, the Lombard laws included other elements which bolstered ethnic identity. For example, Rothari's edict of 643 began with three separate statements from Lombard ethnic tradition including the text of the Origo gentis Langobardorum, a discussion of Rothari's Scandinavian origins, and by mentioning Rothari's position as

[1] Ibid., p.12.
[2] B.Kreutz, Before The Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries (Pennsylvania 1991) p.107.

seventeenth King of the Lombards the laws enhanced Lombard kingship with the credentials of antiquity.[1] We have already discussed the importance to the development of ethnic identity of myths of common origins, and in this light the prefacing of the laws with the Origo was of crucial significance to the Lombard ethnie.

Lombard laws were clearly a significant element in Lombard identity. However, how did they affect south Italian monks in the Lombard principalities? Before 774 all Lombard laws were promulgated in Pavia under the auspices of the Lombard Kings. In the north, however, the clergy professed Roman law and therefore there was no provision made for them in any of the Lombard laws drawn up in Pavia. Significantly the edicts promulgated by Arichis and Adelchis changed this situation entirely.

Sometime after 774, the year that he assumed the royal title, Princeps gentis Langobardorum, Arichis II issued a new Capitula containing 17 titles. Title 4 of this collection was the first Lombard law code to specifically mention monks and priests, and to set their individual wergild (or compensation). A different payment was due on different levels of cleric, the highest being set at 200 solidi for the murder of a monk.[2] Contrary to legal practice in northern Italy where clerics were protected under Roman law, monks and priests in the

[1] H.Wolfram, 'Origo et religio. ethnic traditions and literature in early medieval texts', Early Medieval Europe 3 (1994) pp.1-20.

[2] MGH Edict.cet p.172.

south were shielded under Lombard legislation. While this brought monks within the orbit of Lombard law it is probable that Arichis' edict simply reflected already existing practice in the south. The significance of this is striking: in the north monks professed Roman law - in the south they professed Lombard. Thus, within the specific context of law, the monks of southern Italy were fully part of the Lombard cultural milieu.

Adelchis' Capitula of 866 emphasised the importance of Laws to the maintenance of their ethnic identity and also demonstrated the central role of monks in the southern Lombard legal world. These edicts included an important prologue in which Adelchis indicated that Arichis had made laws ad saluationem et iustitiam suae patriae pertinentia.[1] The prince also explicitly stated that in drawing up new titles he was following the example of Prince Arichis.[2]
Furthermore, it was also clear from the prologue that Adelchis' new titles had been promulgated in the presence of domino adone fratre nostro venerabili episcopo, seu cum comitibus, abbatibus caeterisque nostris magnatibus.[3] Evidently, monastic functionaries, not only professed Lombard law, but had a central role in the promulgation of new laws.

One final factor which reveals a strong belief in

1 MGH Edict.cet p.177.
2 Ibid., p.177.
3 Ibid., p.177.

Lombard identity can be gleaned from the monastic sources, That is the articulation of the feeling of belonging to a group which was sharply separated from other groups. This was one of the two central criteria of ethnic identity, (the other being belief in common ancestry).[1] An individual's identity and consciousness of his or her group difference, and an ethnic group is one that shares a cultural tradition, and has some degree of being different from other such groups.[2] It has been rightly argued that "identity is.....the psychological category essential for individual motivation".[3]

This consciousness of group differences was expressed throughout the monastic sources. Primarily it concerned the specific ethnic definition of those individuals who did not belong to the Lombard ethnic group. For example, in 862 Prince Adelchis, at the request of Adelchis his kinsman and referendarius, gave to another kinsman, Ladechis, the goods of a freeman by the name of Dragonis who had died without leaving any heirs. Dragonis was explicitly referred to as ex genere Francorum.[4]

In 962 the priest-monk Grimoald, acting on behalf of Abbot Paul of S.Vincenzo granted a livello to a group of men collectively referred to as nativi de finibus

1 D.Harrison, 'Dark age Migrations and Subjective Ethnicity: The Example of the Lombards' Scandia p.23.
2 M.E.Burgess,'The resurgence of ethnicity: myth or reality', Ethnic and Racial Studies 1 (1978) p.270.
3 Ibid., p.269.
4 CSS col.463-464.

Francia.[1] Similarly, the author of the Chronica Sancti Benedicti in the section of his narrative which related to the overthrow of the gastald Radoald from his castello near Pontem Corvem referred to the new lord, Magenolfus as pergebat Franciam.[2]

This specific and explicit identification of foreigners was part of the overall process of self-identification as expressed within the Lombard ethnie. Lombards were never referred to using ethnic categorisation. For example, we do not find an epithet such as 'Grimoald, from the race of the Lombards'. This is significant on two counts: firstly ethnic communities identify other groups, as a means of asserting their own identity,[3] secondly, since the above examples all originate within the southern Italian monastic context it is clear that those monks who drafted the documents (and the author of the Chronica) were consciously or unconsciously very much a part of the Lombard ethnie.

Lombard ethnic identity was, therefore, powerfully expressed, maintained and further developed through monasticism. Every aspect of monastic activity including expansion in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, artistic expression, and most importantly, the various expressions of ethnic group identity, were based and founded in the context of a southern Lombard ethnie, which

[1] CV II. Doc.112. pp.121-122.
[2] CSB c.14. pp.475-476.
[3] M.Chapman,M.McDonald, and E.Tonkin, op.cit., p.17.

was itself supported and developed through monasticism.

Summary

The size and wealth of the monasteries of the Lombard principalities of southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries can be explained in terms of the immense role those institutions played in Lombard society. The significance of monasticism was clearly evident in a number of areas of activity.

The weakness of the diocesan church structures in southern Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries had allowed monasteries to take over, extend and develop their control over ecclesiastical organisation in the region. Monasteries owned many rural and urban churches which were served by monk-priests. Many bishops had also been monks and thus owed allegiance to their abbot rather than to Rome. Both the geographical position of the Lombard principalities and their particular cultural milieu ensured that monasteries would retain a major and significant control over ecclesiastical organisation. Papal and Imperial decrees which were designed to restore complete diocesan control to the local bishops and to end the ordination of monks were of no effect in Lombard southern Italy where the monasteries looked to their own regional customs and traditions as the guide for monastic practices.

The monasteries also played a fundamental and crucial role in Lombard court administration. Monks and abbots were employed as political ambassadors, notaries,

royal and legal advisers. Atenolf I of Capua, for example, sent abbot Maio of S.Vincenzo on an ambassadorial mission to Rome to entreat Pope Stephen to send aid to the effort to eradicate the Arabs from southern Italy. The importance of monks as court administrators was clearly demonstrated in clause 5 of the Divisio treaty of 849/50. In that clause those monks deemed most worthy were retained in the central court and not allowed to return to their mother houses once hostilities had ceased.

Monasteries also performed an important financial role which bolstered the authority of the Lombard princes. Siconolf's raid on the treasury of Montecassino was one example of the way in which the Lombard princes could, and did use monastic resources. However, the princes also received rents from the monasteries. This practice induced the princes to support monastic restoration and reform in the tenth century. In short, the Lombard princes of southern Italy needed a strong and flourishing monasticism in order to help sustain their rule by providing an important source of wealth for the central court.

However, the most important aspect of monasticism in southern Italy was its role in expressing and strengthening Lombard ethnic identity. It was evident that the Lombards had a very strong sense of identity and that monasticism was central to that group consciousness.

The southern Lombard sense of identity was based on a number of factors. Firstly the distance and difficulty of transport between Benevento and the seat of Lombard royal power at Pavia added to the insularity of the duchy even in its early years. This was further heightened by a series of contacts with external aggressors who threatened southern Lombard independence: the Byzantines in the seventh century, the Carolingians in the late eighth and early ninth century and the Byzantines once again in the 890's.

With each confrontation Lombard ethnic identity was further strengthened. This was not only evident in the military and political sphere but also in the cultural - for example in the 780's when Charlemagne dominated Italy and threatened the Beneventan principality Paul the Deacon, a Lombard at that time a monk at Montecassino wrote his Historia Langobardorum. Similarly in the 890's when the Beneventan principality was hard pressed by the Byzantines the Cassinese monk, Erchempert, wrote his own Historia Langobardorum in conscious imitation of Paul the Deacon. These two individual examples are the most obvious illustrations of the link between monasticism and identity. These two historians were consciously writing a history of their gens and there can be no more potent symbol of their own ethnic allegiances.

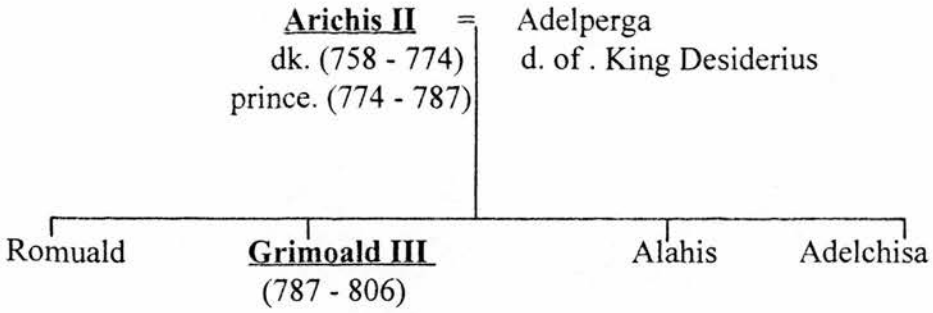
The ethnic aspect of monasticism in the Lombard principalities ran deep. The link between monastic

patronage and the need to express ethnic identity in the face of external aggression was of major significance in respect of the size and splendour of institutions such as S.Vincenzo al Volturno. For example when the Lombard principality was under threat from external aggressors monastic patronage on the part of the princes can be demonstrated to have increased markedly.

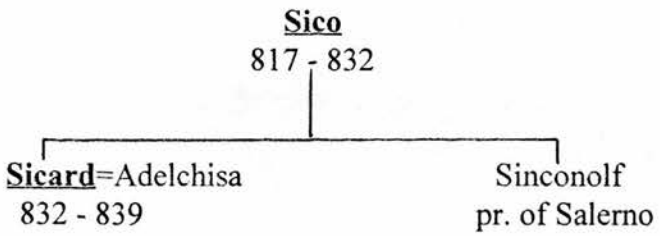
The political outlook of the Lombards was entirely dominated by their acute sense of ethnic identity, and this identity found its strongest cultural voice in Latin monasticism. Erchempert obviously took great ethnic pride in recounting the words supposedly spoken by the Lombard prince Grimoald III when faced with military threat under the leadership of the Frankish king Pepin:

> Liber et ingenuus sum natus
> utroque parente; semper ero liber,
> credo, tuente Deo
>
> Erchempert c.6.

Ninth Century Rulers of Benevento



Grimoald IV
(806 - 817)



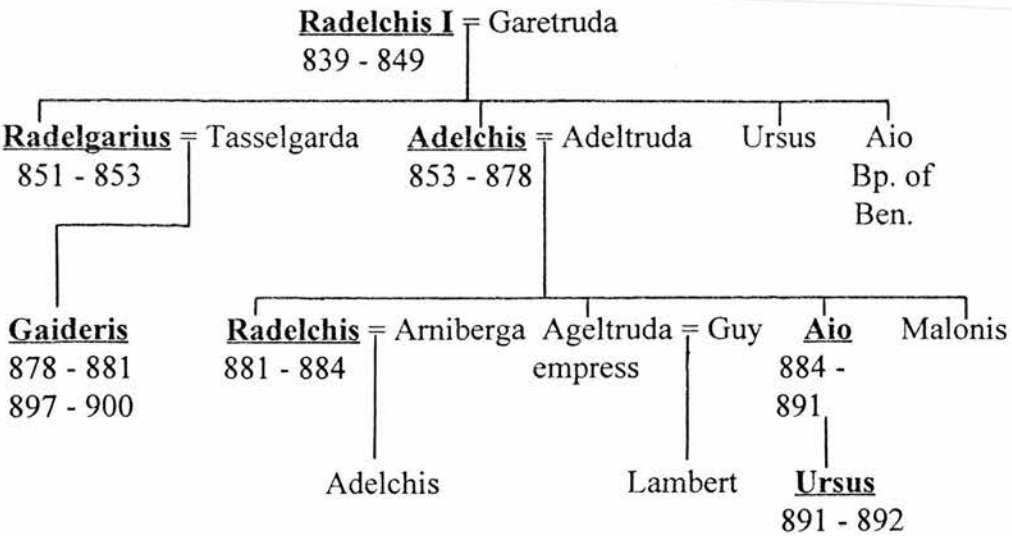


Figure II

Counts and Princes of Capua 815 - 981

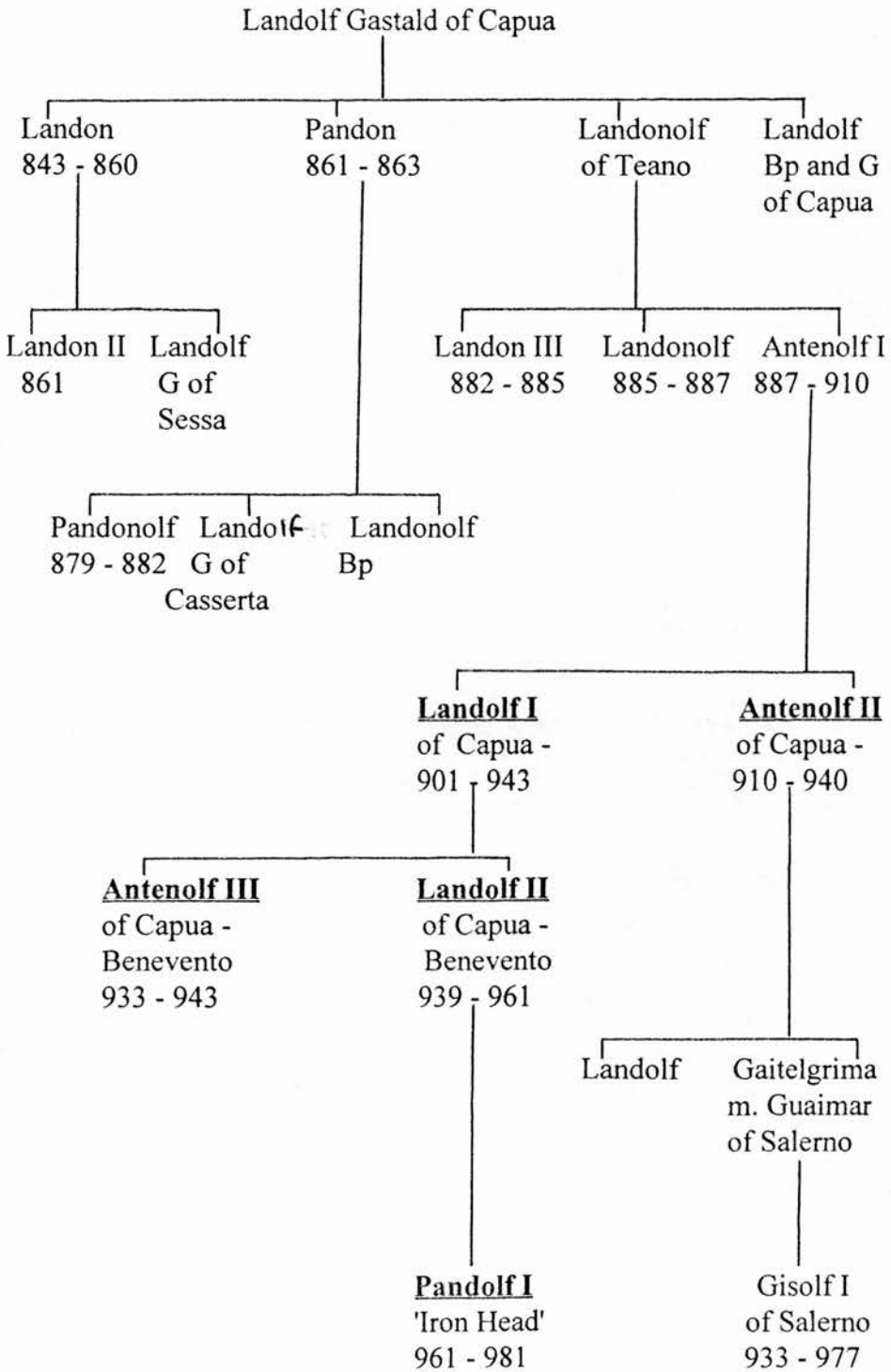


Figure III

Rulers of Salerno from 839

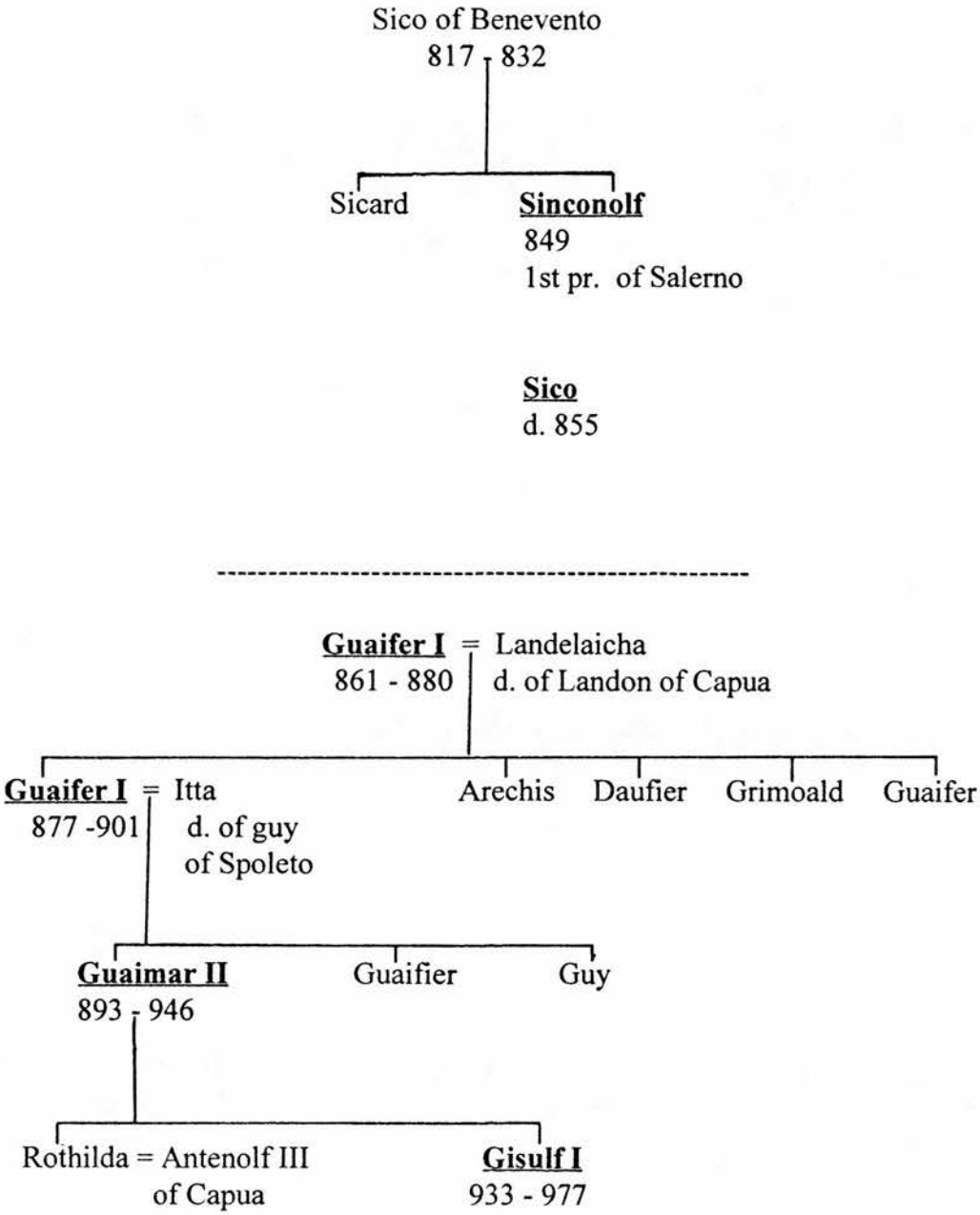


Figure IV

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